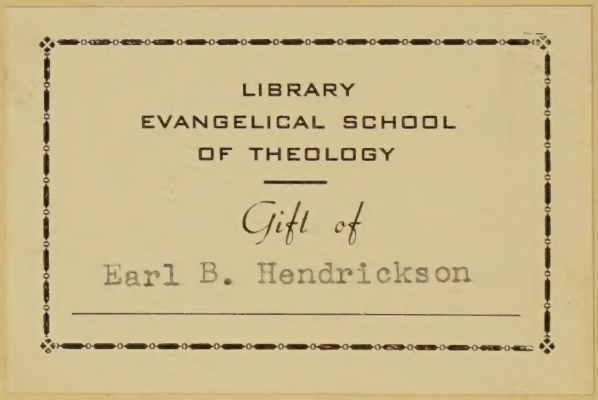
BUILDING INTERNATIONAL GOODWILL

JUL 22 1957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World Alliance for International Friendship through the Church

BUILDING INTERNATIONAL GOODWILL

BY

VARIOUS WRITERS

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THE WAY TO PEACE

A boulevard is a broad highway where once stood a high wall. The dictionary defines a boulevard as "a public walk or road occupying the site of demolished fortifications." The way to peace is largely through changing bulwarks into boulevards; making high walls into highways; doing away with things that divide, and encouraging the things that unite.

—Dr. William P. Merrill.

UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
JUL 22 1957

BOOK COMMITTEE

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AN EXPLANATION

By Fred B. Smith

The Officers and Executive Committee of the "World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches" in submitting this book for the use of the friends of the great cause of International Understanding and Goodwill feel no necessity to offer an apology for the publication, but do feel that a brief explanation may be of advantage in making the book fulfill the purposes which prompted those who have contributed.

First: *The book is a serious effort to assemble into one volume a résumé of the various constructive methods which are being brought forward in the interest of Universal Peace.*

Each chapter might well be made the basis of one or more volumes concerning the subject discussed. But the writers were each asked to give the salient facts in concise form, thus making possible a volume which gives a limited knowledge at least of the many-sided problems which have to be considered in the present complicated international situation. And by this method it is hoped there may be developed a larger degree of unity among the proponents of conciliatory arbitral and legal methods of composing international, interracial and class misunderstanding. There exists a considerable lack of coördination

among the organizations and exponents of this supreme undertaking and at times there is loss of efficiency through these divergent opinions as to the best methods to be employed. It will be observed that no attempt is made at what might be termed uniformity. But the belief is cherished that a better understanding of all these views will strengthen the harmony and coöperation among all of the agencies and serious-minded men and women working for the cause.

SECOND: *The book represents an earnest attempt to put in concrete form the practical methods by which the people of the United States may go forward to an ever enlarging and permanent place in coöperation for World Peace and Brotherhood.*

Two voices seem to be calling to America so far as international relations are involved. One is cold, metallic, selfish, and militaristic. This first one seems to come from the lowest swamps of greed and self-interest. "Isolation" and "America First" are its catchwords. No compassion or pity for humanity can be detected in this call. It is but the echo of an old philosophy which characterized those nations of the past which once ruled in power, trusted in wealth and the sword, and then went to destruction by the sword.

The second voice is heard speaking of the unity of the world, of comradeship and coöperation among the nations, races, and classes of all mankind. This one speaks for Universal Brotherhood and enduring peace, of which Viscount Grey of Falloden said:

"If you tell me this is Utopian I reply that I prefer the chance of Utopia to the certainty of Destruction."

This call comes from the hilltops of hope, justice, the Kingdom of God. The authors of this book believe that the vast majority of the people of the United States of America are lovers of peace. They don't want war; they want to cooperate with other nations. But the confusion in regard to best methods has been so great that the nation has not reached its highest usefulness in the peace era and is in danger of drifting to a low level. This edition is, therefore, submitted in the hope that it may be of service in pointing the way to a larger, genuine coöperation upon the part of America with other peoples and nations in the great adventure of changing the mind of humanity from a war philosophy to one of goodwill and friendliness.

THIRD: *The book is released in high expectation that it may add something to the sum total of sentiment in the world which seeks to abolish the whole doctrine and method of war and the use of force as a means of adjusting international disputes.* Among those who have shared in compiling the various chapters there may be divergence of opinion as to methods. Some may believe that the "Conference" idea is supreme. Others may hold that "Arbitration" is of prime importance. Another group may see ultimate success through a "Court" or a "League." "Disarmament" may bulk largest in the thought of some. But there is one focusing point of solidarity, of absolute unity, of complete agreement

among the authors of the book and the officers, the directors, executive committee, and members of the World Alliance, viz.: THE FINAL, ULTIMATE ABOLITION OF WAR. Upon this there is no division. No dates are attempted for this great consummation. No arbitrary conclusions are submitted as to the paths to be pursued. But the final triumph of a "Warless World" is a fixed goal. It is held by them all to be the greatest moral adventure in the history of humanity. It is the premier task. Nothing else is of comparative importance. Many hopeful signs are apparent throughout the world. The *people* are aroused. Helpful methods are being developed. The greatest intellects of this generation are giving themselves to finding the better way. Progress is being made. But ominous war clouds still hover over many parts of the world. Militarists of every nation are active in war propaganda under the guise of "Preparedness," "Security," "Patriotism." Through it all, however, there has come to be a profound conviction that war is not an incurable disease; that it is not a part of the plan of God. All participants in the production of this book will welcome the realization that their efforts have added something to this sentiment.

A few comments in the explanation concerning the channels in which it is hoped the book may be useful will not be out of order.

1. It is believed that the book will be profitable for the average man and woman to read for the information it contains.

2. It is hoped that it may be of value to study groups, particularly those connected with

social, civic, fraternal, and religious organizations.

3. It is hoped that it may be suggestive as a direction for those who wish to read more extensively upon particular phases of the general subject. The bibliography recommended has been prepared with this in mind.

4. It is hoped that those men and women who have opportunities upon the platform as speakers will find helpful suggestions in the various chapters. The public platform still remains the second greatest force for creating sentiment upon any subject. The friends of World Peace ought to be alert everywhere in their endeavor to have this theme made prominent in all those societies, religious, educational, political, commercial, civic, fraternal, and social where platform addresses are delivered upon stated or special occasions. The world will not *drift* into Peace. It may drift into War. A spiritual and moral victory of such tremendous significance will only be gained by a long persistent educational and inspirational crusade.

For this consummation so devoutly wished and prayed for by millions of people throughout the world and by all lovers of goodwill this book is dedicated.

Extract of the last magazine article written by the late Dr. Charles W. Eliot, former President of Harvard University.

> "America must cling to ideals and promote them. Selfishness is no less fatal to national than to individual fulfillment.
>
> "The minute you begin to think of yourself only you are in a bad way. You cannot de-

velop because you are choking the source of development, which is spiritual expansion through thought for others.

"And so with the nation. If we remain in purse-proud isolation we may be secure, but that security will be purchased at the cost of our souls. America must take the responsibility vested in her nature and be a partner, not a patron, of all the world.

"Selfishness always brings its own revenge. It cannot be escaped."

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PART I

WHAT CONCERN HAS AMERICA WITH WORLD PEACE?

BUILDING INTERNATIONAL GOODWILL

CHAPTER I

THE HOPES WE INHERIT

By Jane Addams and Emily Greene Balch

The hopes we inherit are manifold for during many centuries no generation has failed to bear testimony to that unfulfilled desire for universal peace which torments mankind like an unappeased thirst. Sometimes this testimony has been borne by small groups of humble people, or embodied in the schemes of a great monarch or able statesman, at other times it has broadened into political or religious organizations carrying the ardent consent of whole populations. While this desire is always in the hearts of men it is never so widespread, so driven by remorse, so restless for expression, as after a great war.

It is of course impossible to survey more than a few of the historic efforts which carried forward

these hopes which have never yet been fulfilled but it is not after all a discouraging undertaking. These futile attempts give at least a certain dignity and traditional background to contemporaneous endeavor and even suggest an accumulation of moral energy which in the end cannot be withstood.

The best known and perhaps most beautiful expression of this dream of a warless world is the great Messianic prophecy of Isaiah who foretold a reign of peace both outward and inner, resulting from righteousness and goodwill. Isaiah's prophecy was remarkable in that it looked forward rather than backward, for the mythology of the ancients, including the dreams of the Greeks and Romans, had always placed the era of peace in the past, in a golden age of long ago which had been followed by other ages each harder than the last, until men fell upon the iron age of the present. Such a traditional view naturally supplied little stimulus for endeavors to bring about better conditions until into this apathy came the dynamic teaching of Jesus. The Kingdom of God is indeed within, but the sons of the Kingdom are themselves to do the will here and now. Courage, for Aristotle a purely martial virtue, took a new form in passive resist-

ance of violence. Many of the early Christians endeavoring to keep themselves unspotted from the world refused to take part in war as they refused to burn incense before the image of a deified Emperor; and certainly Tertullian, Clement, Origen, and Basil held that no Christian could properly be a soldier or keep a magisterial office in which he would have to inflict the death penalty. This position was gradually abandoned, and only a few later bishops endorsed Ambrose in forbidding bloodshed in self-defense. A change of view was indeed inevitable as the Church became powerful in the State and the question of war in relation to Christianity took on a political aspect, and when the great St. Augustine himself distinguished just and unjust wars and did not condemn the former, the road was opened for so-called Christian wars.

The double organization of Christendom under the medieval theory, the Emperor to be the representative of God upon earth for secular matters as the Pope for those of religion, resulted in various peace plans and experiments in the endeavor to limit the plague of private feudal wars. Popes imposed "The Truce of God" and in many instances arbitrated quarrels; at the same time scholars and statesmen, believing that

the divided loyalty in itself fostered war, brought forward plan after plan for an effective union of Christian States either under the Pope or under the Emperor, as Dante desired. Some of these plans showed great moral dignity and a most touching desire for a united peaceful Christendom.

The movement that culminated in the Reformation included at least one unobtrusive revolt against war when the Mennonites began to preach their doctrine of nonresistance, first in the Rhineland and later in the New World. The idea of putting an end to the wars that devastated Europe, by organizing a confederation of States, was urged in a more practical shape than ever before by the famous Huguenot financier and statesman, Sully, the retired minister of Henry of Navarre. His Great Design was not wholly a peace plan, but it was international in scope and contained some very wise observations upon war. One of them, that the victor may suffer quite as much as the vanquished, has a very modern sound.

William Penn, follower of George Fox the founder of the Society of Friends, was not only a religious pacifist but also, like Sully, an active statesman and administrator and the author of a

project for international organization for peace. The gist of both plans was a parliament of Powers to maintain justice. In Pennsylvania the Quakers exemplified their beliefs in practice and at least their fair and friendly dealings with the Indians were extraordinarily successful. For the most part they bore a consistent testimony against war and succeeded in getting recognition for their conscientious objection to military service. Since then no war has been without the testimony of those who, whether Quakers or not, have refused to take part in war for conscience' sake.

The legal aspect of the peace movement, the great conception of a body of laws recognized by all nations, had its most striking formulation in Hugo Grotius of the Netherlands. By his great book "De Jure Belli et Pacis," published in the seventeenth century, he became "the Father of the Law of Nations."

The eighteenth century which seemed to make a great advance toward peace was marked by its enthusiasms for large and generous ideas and its belief that man by the use of his reason could make over the world. The idea of a Europe organized for peace, which had so often been suggested in one form or another, found many sup-

porters. It was urged on the public attention throughout the century, among others by the Abbé de Saint Pierre (in 1713), by Rousseau, by the great philosopher Leibnitz, by Jeremy Bentham, the father of Utilitarianism, and by one of the deepest thinkers of all time, Immanuel Kant, in his essay "Perpetual Peace" published in 1795.

It was largely in the cosmopolitan salons of Paris where Jefferson, Franklin, and Thomas Paine met other thinkers of the day—French, English, and German—that the ideas that underlay the overthrow of imperialism in America and of feudalism in France were kindled and spread abroad. Liberty, justice, democracy, the supremacy of reason, freedom from nationalist prejudice, unbroken peace between nations, humanitarianism, were among the watchwords of the "period of enlightenment." But the very success of these ideas brought on the struggle with outgrown institutions both in the old world and in the new, a struggle which was accompanied by violence and the ugly intolerance that violence breeds. As usual violence led to reaction, and in Europe the excesses of the French Revolution were followed by a revulsion against the cosmopolitan and rationalistic tendencies of the eight-

eenth century which had proved so woefully insufficient even before the era of Napoleonism filled the Continent with long and bloody wars.

The wars of Napoleon, however, through the combinations of allied nations who waged the last campaign against him and through the treaties concluded in Vienna in 1815, were responsible for a notable experiment in peace—The Holy Alliance. This remarkable organization testified to the spirit of "never again" which fills the hearts of men as they call upon high heaven to witness their efforts to make another war impossible. The periodical meetings of rulers and statesmen provided for in the Holy Alliance were but a sorry substitute for the brotherhood of man so loudly acclaimed in the eighteenth century, but they at least established the system of an International Concert and disclosed the honest belief that an enduring peace would result from "a just redistribution of political forces." Peace did in fact descend upon Europe in the ensuing decades, during which time the first International Exhibition held in the Crystal Palace near London was loudly acclaimed as substituting friendly coöperation in the "Arts of Peace" for the rivalry of war and this was be-

lieved to be the beginning of a new and better world.

Unhappily the nineteenth century saw a long series of wars, large and small; wars for independence as in Greece and Italy, wars of diplomacy as in the Crimea, wars of expansion and empire as in the Franco-Prussian War, the Boer War, or our own war in Mexico. But the belief in "Progress" was paramount throughout the century and men seeking to realize it in the most diverse fields became impatient with the barbarism of war and the interruption it brought to their plans. The leaders of the English Free Trade Movement, Cobden and John Bright, believed that to liberate international commerce from the trammels of protection was the way to prevent war and made this the basis for widespread propaganda for peace.

This enthusiasm for "Progress" was strengthened in the middle of the century by the new doctrine of evolution, and men worked energetically for the abolition of slavery, the reform of penal laws, the cleaning up of political corruption, the regulation of industrial abuses, the enfranchisement of women and the establishment of international peace. In the last-mentioned domain work was done which, while not immedi-

ately successful, was important in preparing the ground, as we must hope, for a great though belated harvest.

The movement for the abolishment of war became organized into definite peace societies as early as 1815, reflecting doubtless the high hopes of the peace of Vienna. New developments of the constantly self-renewing effort toward peace began to take the form of an organized popular movement in harmony with the spirit of the time. Formal peace societies were founded in the United States and in England; Channing was one of the early leaders in Massachusetts, William Ladd in Connecticut, and William Allen, a Quaker, in England. In 1849 a general Peace Congress met in Paris under the presidency of Victor Hugo, and in 1867 Victor Hugo and Garibaldi founded a League of Peace and Liberty in Geneva.

Only three years later the clash of Prussian and Napoleonic imperialism again sowed the dragon's teeth of war and the nations of Europe, perhaps more than ever jealous of each other, conscripted whole populations and prepared for a coming struggle for power which they deemed inevitable. The civilized world lived in the shadow of the threat of a war which, as Bismarck

prophesied, would "bleed Europe white." In the midst of this apprehension Baroness von Suttner's novel "Throw Down Your Arms" *(Die Waffen Nieder)* was to the peace movement something of what "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was to the antislavery cause—a woman's passionate expression of human revolt against cruelty and suffering. Even deeper and stronger than this appeal to pity and horror was Tolstoy's challenge to the Christian conscience. He called upon all who accepted the teachings of The Sermon on the Mount "to resist not evil." He believed that overcoming evil with good had never been adequately tried out and he challenged courageous Christians everywhere to put their faith to a test. There resulted for the moment such a revolt against war in the ranks of sensitive Christians both within and without the Churches as foreshadowed a return to the early Christian position. At least thousands of Christians ceased to say that the abolition of war was impossible, they substituted the saying that the time had not yet come.

From Russia also came the next great impetus toward peace in its political aspect. The Czar, apparently moved by a monumental work in which an eminent banker, Jean de Bloch, had

pointed out the futile destructiveness of wars, called a peace conference at The Hague in 1899, followed by another in 1907.

The two great policies brought forward at these Conferences were arbitration and disarmament. Although the imperialists feared the former and succeeded in emasculating a far-reaching plan to replace war by peaceful methods of settling differences, nevertheless a very substantial gain was made which finally resulted in the establishment of The Hague Court of Conciliation and Arbitration. The Army and Navy experts were more successful in actually preventing anything effective in the way of limitation of armaments. International anarchy proved too deep-seated, the old tradition which regarded war as both honored and inevitable was too strong. Once more, at least, the world was to see wholesale and scientifically organized warfare before it could be shocked into effective action and push forward its efforts for peace.

The Hague Court of Arbitration functioned satisfactorily for fifteen years, during which period many cases were formally arbitrated and others were adjusted by conciliation and through commissions appointed at the instigation of the Court. It has not convened since the beginning

of the World War, although its very existence doubtless made possible the World Court, established after the War. In the three decades preceding the Great War there was a rapid growth in international administrative unions and bureaus, like the Universal Postal Union, International Telegraphic Union, and many others, some of them semi-governmental in character.

Since the World War militarism has invaded new territory. Fear, which far more than courage is the mother of wars, obsesses whole peoples, most of all the victorious ones. The world is full of "new Alsace-Lorraines" and "danger-spots." The fear that a social revolution may spread from Russia fills the possessing classes with panic and intolerance. There seems to be an increased willingness to resort to violence and in many countries, including the United States, there is an unprecedented development of training for military service. Nevertheless, there is a new feeling against war, widespread and powerful. Never since conscious history began has there been anything comparable to it. Such feeling was formerly pure and strong only in small politically powerless groups. To-day it honeycombs society in every country as the growing warmth of the sun in spring honeycombs the ice

which still locks the living waters. There is a new attitude toward war among soldiers, among working people, among women, among students, among churchmen. Some of them repudiate war entirely and are willing to accept any martyrdom rather than to take part in it. Much larger numbers sincerely desire the abolition of war but are held back by the old association of patriotism with military service, of national honor and safety with preparation for war. Many people who consciously desire peace are confused by the various pacifist proposals without realizing that these proposals are different parts of a necessarily complex program of education as well as action.

Through it all, however, the problem of peace and war—for it is a problem—begins to be better understood. We see that for its solution certain conditions are necessary which the older peace movements necessarily lacked.

Three necessary conditions easily suggest themselves.

The first is technical—the possibility of rapid and universal intercourse. This now exists and there is constant progress in this field. It is true that the effect of the shrinkage of time and space depends on what use we make of our opportuni-

ties and may increase friction rather than friendship; on the other hand our new opportunities make practicable a world organized for coöperation where war shall be eliminated.

The second is psychological. Peace can come only if men are determined to have it. Wars are not brought about like earthquakes by causes that men cannot influence. If we are to achieve peace men must "love peace and ensue it"—not necessarily all men—but enough men to control the situation. There must be a widespread desire for peaceful solutions of difficulties, fair to both sides, and a willingness patiently to endeavor to find such solutions. Fairness and friendliness, patience and intelligence—these are the moral qualities favorable to peace and they are qualities not unnatural to human beings. They are imperfectly developed as yet, but they are qualities which are eminently capable of education and growth.

The third condition of a world at peace is political. Orderly methods of doing what is now done by war, that is, settling clashes between nations, must be organized, for between sovereign states as between man and man if there are no courts and no laws, or ineffective ones, there will be lynchings and vigilantes. Arbitration treaties,

a world court, an association of nations preventing aggression at once by world opinion and by providing non-violent methods of securing fair demands,—these are parts of the necessary machinery of world peace.

The League of Nations, even to those who do not believe that the United States should enter it, must appear as the most important experiment in this direction that ever has been made. The Covenant of the League of Nations was framed at a moment when idealism ran high in Europe, and men felt an obligation, more imperative than ever before, to abolish war, when ten million dead clamored within living hearts that they should have died in vain if war were not ended.

It is as practicable to abolish war as it was to abolish the institution of chattel slavery which also was based on human desires and greeds. These are still with us, but slavery has joined cannibalism, human sacrifice, and other once sacred human habits, as one of the shameful and happily abandoned institutions of the past.

It is quite possible to reduce war to the present status of chattel slavery,—a moribund survival, occurring only in backward parts of the earth, no longer accredited, honored, regulated by

law, deliberately fostered and prepared for, approved by the churches, beautified by literature, and considered inevitable although deplorable by conscientious statesmen.

A great Kingdom of Peace lies close to hand, ready to come into being if we would but turn toward it. To make it real is the task of the men who live upon the earth at this moment. The religious as well as the political organizations of our own time have been humbled and disgraced by the occurrence of the greatest war in history. The Church as well as the State stands indicted. Multitudes of men are waiting for the Church to assume the leadership to which it is historically entitled and to consummate the hopes of a world at Peace.

CHAPTER II

INTER-ALLIED DEBTS AND AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY

By J. Henry Scattergood

The post-war problems of Europe can be thought of in terms of a log jam with the floods piled up behind it of chaos, despair, bankruptcy, death and fears of new wars on a scale of which most Americans have had very little conception. The log jam had three key logs that had to be cut through to let it out under control—the first was Reparations, the second Inter-Allied Debts and the third Armaments.

The first key log—Reparations—has been in part cut through by good workmen with good tools, working through the Dawes Plan. But even if the Dawes Plan can continue to succeed, and even if the problems of transferring the marks, which the Germans pay, into the other moneys which the recipient nations wish to receive, can be solved, the reparation key log cannot be cut through all the way *until the total of the bill against Germany is legally reduced.* Practically the Dawes Report does reduce it to

one-third of what was fixed in 1921 by the Reparations Commission, but legally that subject was not allowed to be touched, nor was even the number of years allowed to be stated for which Germany must pay the annuities fixed by the plan. Hence, if interest were to be charged on the unreduced outstanding amount, Germany will be digging her own grave deeper and deeper every year, even after paying the full amounts that the Dawes experts calculated it would be possible for her to pay, unless a reduction is legally provided for.

Relation of Debts to Reparations

Now the first key log of reparations has been so interlocked with the second key log of Inter-Allied debts that we could hardly expect a legal reduction of the total of reparations until there was first some legal disposition of the Inter-Allied debt problem. Had the Allies any moral right to ask France, for example, to loosen her strangle hold on reparations and indemnities from Germany in one corner of the great chess-board, while the United States and England refused to loosen their strangle holds on Inter-Allied debts from France in the other corners? To France both are parts of her intense financial problem.

If we in the United States should have insisted on collecting from France all that we had a legal right to demand, we would take away from her more than a half, perhaps three-fourths, of all that she can ever realize from her collections from Germany under the Dawes Plan in two generations, even if it does work one hundred per cent and even if the transfer problem can be solved,—which no economist has yet been willing to say can fully take place. And if we thus had demanded our part, England has just as much right—because her debts are on all fours with ours—to take another half of what France will ever get from Germany. And that would mean in the last analysis that France would have to pay over to the United States and England about one and one-quarter times as much as she is ever going to get from Germany, and be left in the position of having to pay permanently out of her own pocket the full cost of the repairs of the devastated areas as well as her own share of the cost of the war. Now, it is not believable that the American people or the British people could have it in their hearts to treat France that way if they could really see in true perspective; certainly the millions of soldiers who have served in the devastated areas and those of us who have

helped in their reconstruction, who know first hand what France has suffered, would not be so inclined. And this would be all the more true if we would not overlook the fact that about two-thirds of the debts due the United States were before the Armistice and were for common war purposes; if we would not pass over the fact that almost all the debts were spent in this country and that profits were made on them. And would not all this still be true even if the debts *could* be fully repaid to us?

No wonder then that there has been general acquiescence in the Debt Commission's agreements to make large reductions in the interest rates, especially in the cases of Italy, Belgium, and France.

Reductions Inevitable

That the Inter-Allied debts due the United States *can* ever be fully repaid in any way that we would be willing to accept, is a question only too real to economists. Even the general public is now gradually awakening to the fact that such payments must be very largely made in goods or services, both of which we shall be reluctant to receive. And this will apply *even to the reduced amounts* fixed in the settlements already nego-

tiated by the Debt Funding Commission. And yet what statesman or politician in this country is willing to tell the facts frankly to the American people and help us really to see the whole situation in its world perspective? Inter-Allied debts in this country form exactly the same problem for our public men here as the reparation problem has been to the public men of France. Only gradually is it politically possible that the bitter and disappointing realities can be unfolded to the people. Sooner or later we, too, must realize that with Inter-Allied debts, as with reparations, *it is not a question of what may be needed or what it may be thought should be repaid, but that it is a question of what* can *be done.* Even after the debts are fully acknowledged and perhaps refunded, in effect a "Dawes Plan" for them will have to be provided, if the problems of exchange and transfer are to be solved. And in the end *extensive liquidations of the war will have to be faced* even by the victorious nations, just as they have already been the lot of the countries which were defeated. The real facts and economic laws will have to be met, and just exactly as a business man reluctantly gets out his red ink bottle at the end of the year and crosses off his bad debts, so the world is already beginning the process and

before it finishes will have to use, not a bottle, but a barrel of red ink to liquidate most of the internal and the external losses with their hopeless economic problems that have come out of the war.

Not Cancelation of Debts for Nothing

Now, does that mean with the United States that we must or should *cancel* the Inter-Allied debts? Personally I do not think so, in spite of the difficulties and improbabilities of their collection. I fully agree that the first step has rightly been to establish clearly their legality and their recognition by the debtor nations, and then to proceed from that point. No doubt there will be ample opportunities and demands in the future for further reductions beyond those allowed in the settlements already made. *The leverage of these Inter-Allied debts gives us a power at all times that no nation in history has ever had in like amount before; and it surely should not have been nor should it now be surrendered or canceled for* nothing.

All roads will lead, as they have led, directly to Washington. It has already been pointed out how the French road leads there. And so also with the British. England has long seen the

realities of the situation more than we have; three years ago she came to the point of being willing to reduce her claims for reparations from Germany and for Inter-Allied debts due her from her Allies so that the total of these two would be as much as and no more than she has to pay to the United States. With Italy it is the same—she can never collect in reparations as much as she owed in Inter-Allied debts. Hence the way the second key log of Inter-Allied debts can be cut depends on *how we use our tools at Washington.* It can never be done as a world-wide proposition unless we start it and do it in a big way.

Now, the American people should never consent to cancelation of the Inter-Allied debts without consideration. And this is especially the case if the credits so created in Europe can go into new bullets and make possible new wars over there. But, on the other hand, if our leaders could develop a *new* proposition that could be put up to our country with an appeal to the generosity and idealism that are latent in our hearts and ready to be once more stirred,—if we could be *led,* not threatened or driven—if the proposition could be shaped in some practical form and be presented under bold leadership to the American people by which we could *trade off those debts*

for a world-wide settlement that could cut all three key logs in the log jam, would we not only recognize that *such a settlement would be better than money,* but also support and welcome it?

Trading Off of Inter-Allied Debts for Constructive Policies for World Settlement

The time is sure to come when the burdens of even the reduced debt settlements must be again faced. Under these settlements the early years call for relatively light payments that perhaps can be met. But the real economic and international problems involved, both in Reparations and in Inter-Allied debts, will assert themselves as the heavier payments of later years fall due. In the present political situations in the United States and Europe, the agreements already negotiated have probably been all that could have been possible, but does anyone, even of those who made these agreements, *really expect them to be carried out through the period of two generations, without further changes?*

The impossibility of their fulfillment will be all the more apparent after the franc and the lira have been finally stabilized—processes which will involve unprecedented losses of past savings, and perhaps great social changes.

Yes, the time is sure to come—and let us pray that it may be soon—when *we* can call a second Washington Conference, at which the debtor and creditor nations will sit around the table to solve these economic and internationally woven problems. At that time, as indeed it is now, it will be the *United States that will hold the ace cards and will be able through the leverage of these Inter-Allied debts, and through our reservoir of credits, our financial, economic, and moral strength, to get almost anything in the way of constructive world policy* if only we know what we want ourselves. We must therefore first have a constructive foreign policy. Second, we must be ready when such a conference comes, to go into it *not empty handed and anxious only to receive,* but, on the other hand, *ready to give up, provided others will also make sacrifices.* Why was the first Washington conference such a success? It was because Secretary Hughes had worked out a constructive plan under which we were ready to give up so many battleships, provided the others would do the same; and it seized the imagination of the world and was irresistible. Now, again, in such a second Washington conference it would be *our great opportunity* again to present to the world *a plan under which we*

would be willing to trade off the debts due us for a quid pro quo *in the shape of a general world settlement* involving the cutting of all three key logs, namely, *the reduction of reparations, the reduction of Inter-Allied debts all round and the reduction of armaments.*

Such a general settlement will be necessarily a matter for experts and diplomatists to work out. Perhaps it is too early politically to be specific, but already there are many signs to indicate that a settlement may be eventuated on the lines of private investors in various countries (but chiefly the United States) purchasing, perhaps in successive installments, the German Reparation Bonds secured by the German railways and industries, totaling sixteen billion gold marks, that is the equivalent of four billion dollars. These amounts in cash would then be immediately available to the allied nations for reparations, and could also in turn be used by them for immediate payment to the United States for their Inter-Allied debts due us. In conjunction with cancelation of all other Inter-Allied debts and with minor necessary adjustments for accomplishing a fair equalization we could then accept these combined payments in full settlement. The *present value* of such cash would offset much

larger long-time installments at low rates of interest, so that such an all-around settlement, even with its reductions, *would be a good one to all concerned.* It would clean the international slate and make possible for the world a fresh financial start. The only payments for the future would be by Germany and these would be to private investors and well within Germany's capacity to pay. Furthermore, Reparations and Inter-Allied debts would be removed from politics and from international contentions and bitterness. The United States could well afford to offer to make such a settlement, especially if it were combined, as it should be, with a plan for the *reduction of armaments.* And by such a proposal we could regain the goodwill of the world.

America's Opportunity

That Europe has been valiantly trying to work out the *security problem, preliminary to reduction of armaments,* must be evident from the proposals of the Geneva Protocol of 1924, from the Locarno Treaties, and from the entrance of Germany into the League of Nations. Europe is ready to be molded into some new form of cooperative effort if only the potter can be found bold enough and constructive enough to under-

take the task. To change the figure, the world has been balancing in the scale between the old method and the completion of some new plan of coöperation. Can anyone doubt that the scale will tilt on the side into which the *United States throws its weight?* And just as the dark side is that millions of people in all countries are cynically turning back again to the old method of war preparedness and new alliances, so the bright side is that in every country more millions of people than ever before have come to realize that in that old method there is nothing but suicide, that there is not a chance of solving the highly complex and dangerous problems of Europe and of the world except by the method of *coöperation* and through *further perfection of the machinery for peace.*

Now, the searching question for all of us in the United States to ask ourselves is, *Are we doing our part in* leading *toward this great goal?* For decades it has always been the policy of the United States to lead the world in every movement toward world coöperation, toward arbitration, toward the World Court, toward the idea of the League of Nations. And yet now, through the effects of politics and partisan and personal squabbles, the United States since the war has

not only not led in this procession, but has had too little place in it altogether. Others have been leading the procession in the place *we ought again to occupy.*

I believe there are millions of people in our country who would welcome the kind of leadership that would again put the *United States* in its rightful place as the *active head of the world's procession in all coöperative movements for peace,* who would rejoice to see partisan politics stop at the three-mile limit, as far as our foreign affairs are concerned, and who would support a constructive program of utilizing our Inter-Allied debts as a leverage upon the world situation to secure a general all-around settlement of the three key log problems.

"To whom much is given, of him shall much be required." If *we* turn to the world merely the hard face of the *creditor,* we shall have little effect in promoting the great moves forward for constructive peace; but, on the other hand, as the old proverb has it,

> As in water face answereth to face,
> So the heart of man to man,

if we turn to the world that has been longing and expecting great things of us the face of the *big*

brother, kindly and willing to help on right lines, is there any reason to doubt what the response will be, or that we could not secure, as I have said, almost anything we want in constructive world policy, if only we know what we want ourselves?

Our leaders cannot lead much faster than the people follow, so do not let us put all the blame on our leaders. Let us all—leaders and people together—blame ourselves that we have not yet since the war done our full share *in coöperating with the other nations in working out the great problems that must be solved.*

May our leaders be bold enough to teach us and lead us so that we may again do our full part in working for that better day and in trying to make real the ideals that the boys died for, that everybody sacrificed for and that the peoples of all nations expected that the war would bring.

PART II

THE MENACE OF WAR

CHAPTER III

THE CAUSES OF WAR WHICH LIE IN OURSELVES

By W. Russell Bowie, D.D.

The policies and acts of the United States will depend ultimately upon public opinion. Public opinion is the product of the thoughts and feelings of individual citizens. If this nation is to pursue steadily a peace-loving and a peace-creating policy, it will be because the men and women who make up its citizenship incline to peace. If the nation should drift into a mood which regards war as desirable or as inevitable and so launch upon a current which ends in war itself, the reason would be because the feeling of individual citizens had become gradually accustomed to the fact of war and indifferent to the creative duty of willing and preserving peace.

Does an objection immediately spring into consciousness here? Are there those who will reply that this is a mere shallow and sentimental statement of the causes which create peace or war? Are there no objective facts which cause collisions between nations regardless of what the previous

dispositions of peoples may have been? The World War was not provoked until the Austrian Archduke was murdered at Sarajevo. Our war with Spain began only after the blowing up of the *Maine* in Havana harbor. The Civil War began when South Carolina seceded and the guns were turned from Charleston upon Fort Sumter. Are there not also conceivable causes which in the future might suddenly embroil two nations in an instant struggle, no matter how little the peoples in general had expected it? Suppose some other nation should covet the Panama Canal and attempt to seize it; suppose an expansionist policy in Japan should send out the Japanese navy to attempt to capture the Hawaiian Islands; suppose a combination of nations, jealous of our commercial supremacy, should attempt to throttle our trade in the Orient. Would there not be facts here, arising out of the exigencies of practical politics, which would provoke wars, whether the American people previously had thought and felt this way or that?

So with seeming reasonableness it may be argued; but a deeper consideration leads us to a more far-seeing and inclusive judgment. It is true that certain concrete facts stand as the vivid

symbols for the commencement of war. But they are only the sudden flash of an explosion which is the end of the train of hidden motivation along which the spark has steadily crept toward the dramatic instant. We say that the killing of the Archduke at Sarajevo precipitated the World War. But when we are thoughtful we know better. Back of that killing lay the accumulated passions and the seething jealousies and hatreds of the Balkan peoples, and that particular assassination happened to be the point at which the underground fire at length broke into the blaze which set the world aflame. But it was not this particular point, but the long gathering fire itself that made the war. The sinking of the *Maine* in Havana harbor was likewise the final fact which precipitated the explosion of American sentiment that turned peace into war with Spain. But the sinking of the *Maine* obviously would not have been a cause for war except for the long accumulating suspicion and hostility concerning Cuba which made the American people believe that the sinking of the warship was not an accident but a secret and malicious deed of Spain. The firing on Fort Sumter marked the technical commencement of the Civil War, but back of that lay the ominously gathering antagonisms between

North and South over the questions of slavery and States' rights which had made men on both sides of the dividing line become so increasingly accustomed to the suggestion of conflict that war, when it came, was like a release to emotions so inflamed that they could no longer supportably be pent up.

As it is true that causes small in themselves can produce the ultimate explosion of war, if the previous temper of two nations has been charged with dynamite, so also it is true that causes relatively more grave can be adjusted without difficulty when the expectation of friendship is so strong as to be controlling. For over a century there has been peace along the border line between the United States and Canada. No soldiers on either side patrol a single mile of that vast frontier. No navies are on the lakes. Nobody now seriously imagines that the United States and Canada will go to war. Any sudden suggestion of that would be smiled at. Sensible people, we say, simply do not think like that. The idea of war between the United States and Canada does not move in the recognized circles of reasonable ideas. If, therefore, some strong disagreement between the two peoples should arise, there would be little likelihood that it could

provoke an armed collision. It would encounter an atmosphere predisposed to sensible adjustment and to peace. The firebrands of provocation would find no ready fuel to ignite.

It was a true reader of human nature who wrote long ago, "out of the heart are the issues of life," and it is as true for a nation as it is for an individual. The elaborate and loudly plausible justifications which a nation gives for its wars, at the time when these break out, are seldom completely real. The causes lie in impulses and in instinctive feelings too deep for immediate analysis. Modern psychology is making it increasingly plain that all our human conduct depends far less upon the deliberate and conscious reason than upon the moving of those subconscious forces which old impressions, some of them forgotten, have gradually formed and filled with energy. The alternative between peace and war, therefore, for the United States in any possible contingency of the future, will be decided, not by the argumentative reasons of presidents or senators or diplomats at the moment. It will have been decided long before by the temper which has been forming in the nation's mind and emotion. There is scarcely any conceivable cause for war which cannot be adjusted if there has

been a long and positive growth of goodwill. Nor is there any cause too slight to provoke a war if a nation through its individual men and women should have been growing complacent, arrogant, truculent, and overbearing.

The time to stop the next war is to stop it now. And the only way to stop it is not by relying upon the devices of diplomats and politicians, attempting too late to deal with a situation so charged with human passions that it has got out of hand; the way to deal with it is to deal with it in ourselves. That is a slow process. It is hidden and not dramatic; but it is the one process which has clear hope of being effective. Franklin K. Lane was right when in the days of disillusionment which followed the great War he wrote to a friend in Europe: "I do not believe we will change the world much for the good out of any materialistic philosophy, or by any shifting of economic affairs. We need a revival—a belief in something bigger than ourselves and more lasting than the world. If you have a religion that can get hold of people, grip them and lift them, for God's sake come over and help us." It is not the reshaping of affairs, but the remaking of men and their emotions which we need. It is not *real-politik* but religion that can accomplish the

results required, and great will be the leadership of America if she can set the example of a religious conscience effectively purifying and determining those inner motives which control the issues of war or peace.

This religious conscience begins with an ideal and with that new power for thought and choice which comes from an ideal made convincing. The philosophy of materialism believes in a world governed by brute motives. It believes that man will go on forever tumbling back in moments of passion to those levels of struggle constantly made natural to him by his sub-human ancestry; but the truth which men and women must believe in who take their faith from the life and love of Christ is that the old nature can be effectively redeemed into a new nature. Their faith is that war, as an element in our civilization, is a brute inheritance, but a brute inheritance which can be transcended. Their faith is that this world belongs, not to the devil, but to God, and that they who dare to shape their will in the terms of the will of God are they who shall inherit it. Their faith is that man is meant to triumph over the brute, and that the divine in man is mightier than the brute in man's own soul. If men believe that, then they have the courage to mobilize the

intellectual and spiritual resources of the human race for the task which confronts us. They will have the courage to believe that nations as such can rise to that right decision which President Butler of Columbia called for in the climax of a great address which he delivered in New York in January, 1927: "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve, whether the pagan idols of destruction, desolation, and war, or the God of righteousness, progress, and peace."

Such a religious motive must express itself, not in general sentiment only, but in deliberate discrimination among our own thoughts and emotions, since these become the elements in that public opinion which shapes the choices of the nation. There are certain simple things which a right conscience ought to make obligatory upon ourselves.

First, we must be watchful concerning the growth of our own prejudices. It is easy to be angered by an individual of some particular nationality, and then to transfer our aversion to his whole nation. It is easy to read some piece of news concerning a particular people which offends us, and then to take this partial, and it may be misleading, description as characteristic of the people as a whole. Thus grows dislike, and out of

dislike may come suspicion and more dislike. There is need for the simple exercise of fairness in all our thinking of foreign peoples, in the spirit which does not easily believe evil, but looks for and welcomes what is good.

In the second place, we should scrutinize, and exercise our moral judgment toward, newspapers and other organs of opinion which pretend to give information which bears on international affairs. It is a reproach to a man's religion as well as to his intelligence that he should be the gullible prey of unscrupulous mongers of sensation. There are newspapers in the United States as well as in other lands which do not hesitate, either for the purpose of promoting circulation through specious excitement, or in the pursuit of some biased and malicious prejudice, to represent half-truths as truths, rumors as facts, and utter lies as actual happenings, in the field of international contact. If America is to do its part in building up a positive sentiment for peace, then its men and women of sound conscience must do their utmost to recognize and repudiate all false propaganda which poisons international goodwill.

In the third place, men and women who are earnest in this matter should see that their views

are constantly made known to their representatives in the government. There is no longer room for silence and acquiescence in selfish or cynical policies. The destinies of unknown tomorrows hang upon what we do or fail to do to-day. If we deny our ideals or forget them, if we trust in pride and power and our own sufficiency, if we go on believing that our safety is in our material strength, then we shall be stumbling on toward war and all its physical disaster and its spiritual shame. The one thing which can save us from such disaster and lead us up and on toward secure and abundant life, is that religious spirit which casts out the devils of falsehood and ill will from our own selves and insists that these shall be cast out of the politics of the nations, in order that the creative agencies of peace may be built instead.

PART III

BUILDING BULWARKS AGAINST WAR

CHAPTER IV

ARBITRATION

By Denys P. Myers

Arbitration is a specific kind of remission of disputes to third and disinterested parties for solution, but internationally it has come to be used as a general word covering all methods of pacific settlement of disputes between nations. It is in this sense that it is employed in the phrase "arbitration, security, and reduction of armaments," which describes the Geneva protocol of 1924, and it is here employed in that sense. At the present time arbitration covers in this general meaning three types of settling disputes: judicial or court procedure, arbitral procedure proper, and conciliation by inquiry.[1]

The fields of national activity which may contribute to or jeopardize peace are numerous, but a single thread runs through the whole peace problem. The one absolute certainty is that war will come only from a dispute, a difference. Dis-

[1] See my "Arbitration and the United States" for detailed study.

putes between states are bound to arise, for differences, if not essential to progress, at least are inevitable in life. If pacific settlement solves the dispute, there will be no war; and it then is of no concern whether the dispute was one of race, mutual ambitions, economic friction, or other rivalry. The extent to which states are willing to leave their disputes to disinterested decision may well be taken as a test of their actual civilization and Christianity. The state which does that is willing to lose rather than be wrong.

In January, 1927, there were more than 116 bipartite treaties taking that full engagement in force, including the Locarno pacts. Many of them were not between neighbors, and therefore constituted a promise not likely to cost national pride much in their fulfillment; but most of them meant that justice was placed between neighbors in a position superior to national victory. In most instances, the closer the contractants were to each other and the more questions they had, the more complicated are the treaties. We can start with the simplest formula. As an example to Christian nations, I am partial to the text signed by Afghanistan and Persia, conterminous states and non-Christian, which reads:

The two contracting parties have decided, in conformity with international usage, to submit to arbitration all the difficulties arising between the two countries of which a solution cannot be arrived at by diplomatic means.

Further, the high contracting parties undertake loyally to carry out the decisions of the arbitrators.

Siam has seven equally simple treaties with European countries, but for the rest of the world that naked formula is practically confined to Latin America.

Large states with complicated interests are justified in using a more complicated formula. The favorite one is of American origin, but scarcely of American practice. After the First Hague Conference, it became customary for states to make arbitration treaties confined to legal differences not involving national honor and vital interest. In 1911 President Taft tried to improve on that for, as his Secretary of State, Knox, said, those were loose phrases meaning "whatever the particular nation involved declares them to mean." The Taft treaties recognized some disputes as "justiciable" and provided for their arbitration. All others—the nonjusticiable disputes—were to be left to a commission of in-

quiry, which should report upon them; but the countries were not to be bound by the report. The Senate insisted on the text being so altered that President Taft declined to proceed with putting into force the treaties negotiated with France and Great Britain.

In 1913 William J. Bryan, President Wilson's Secretary of State, proposed that all disputes not solved diplomatically and not left to arbitration should be submitted to a commission of inquiry and that the states should not declare war or commit hostilities before its report was rendered. Thirty American treaties were negotiated with as many countries on that formula. Though twenty-one are in force, the treaties contemplate that the commissions be always kept in being, and very few of them are complete and ready for service, either owing to failure in making appointments or to vacancies which have occurred.

The importance of those American "treaties for the advancement of peace" cannot be overestimated. In 1913 the nations were ready to bind themselves to leave their disputes to disinterested examination, but were unwilling to bind themselves to a real decision in all cases. They were ready to "accept arbitration in principle." National psychologies are such that

peoples have preferred war to being found wrong. Arbitration in its technical sense more often split the legal difference than pronounced a real judgment; in fact, its official definition is "the settlement of disputes between states by judges of their own choice and on the basis of respect for law." Law, of course, can be respected at a considerable distance. That psychology made it exceedingly difficult to widen the scope of pacific settlement because states always sought to make exceptions, and the matters excepted were naturally the things most likely to create tension and lead to war.

Bryan's formula got around this difficulty. It left voluntary with the disputants what matters they would leave to arbitration, receiving a binding decision. But it provided for disinterested examination of all other questions, prescribed a delay, and in the human nature of the case gave both the public and government opportunity to forget its controversial heat and to climb gracefully down from extreme positions. It is certain that the formula brought pacific settlement really into the realm of practical international politics. It gave governments a chance to lead their peoples along a road to peace not too arduous for the jingo in the common man to follow.

In the few months before the World War broke out, the American treaties made a profound impression throughout the chancelleries of the world. They became one of the corner stones of all the peace programs invented during the World War and finally became Article 12 of the Covenant of the League of Nations in the following language:

> The Members of the League agree that, if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or judicial settlement or to inquiry by the Council and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the judicial decision, or the report by the Council.

The Covenant is, of course, a treaty, and that engagement bears with all the solemnity of a national contract upon each of the fifty-five member states of the League. Since the failure of the United States, the Soviet Union, and a few others to accept it, leaves it short of universal application, there may be a doubt as to whether the agreement is incontrovertibly international law; but there can be no doubt that the acceptance of that policy and engagement by

fifty-five states establishes a world standard of conduct by which all states will be judged now and henceforth.

We may, therefore, say that war is to-day actually outlawed by fifty-five states until after some form of pacific settlement of their own choice has been tried and failed to solve the dispute. It should be clear that only a very remarkable set of circumstances could produce a war after the prescribed procedure, which involves these five stages:

1. A dispute which ordinary negotiation has failed to settle and which has been tense enough to threaten a rupture of friendly relations;

2. The submission of the dispute in that stage to some method of pacific settlement by one or both parties (if both parties submit it, a disposition to solve it is evident; if one party holds back, it becomes suspected of fishing in troubled waters);

3. The time for "cooling off" afforded by the delay necessary in exhausting the chosen method, coupled with the national psychology of peace engendered by practising that method;

4. The intrinsic value of the solution obtained and its extrinsic value in redefining the issue, if the settle-

ment should not prove entirely satisfactory to both parties;

5. The prescribed "cooling off" period of three months.

A dispute which can survive as a *casus belli* after passing through those unavoidable stages—well, is probably worth a war. Furthermore, the same fifty-five states, under Article 11 of their Covenant, give each other the right to mediate, in which case the powers of the Council are wider than in the case of an optional inquiry and report under Article 15.

To put the thing in a word, fifty-five states obligate themselves not to resort to war unless some disinterested forum is unable to settle their dispute. Of course, war in this sense means war between states as such, not merely the use of force. Military aid to another government, as the United States in Nicaragua; rebellion, as the Riffs in Morocco; revolution, as the contest in China, and perhaps other uses of armament, are not international war. Another comment may be added. Some say treaty engagements will not be kept. Germany's experience in violating Belgian neutralization did not provide much encouragement to treaty breaking. And, more-

over, any commitment of states to peace will be by treaty, and there is no valid reason and no good sense in believing that an existing treaty will not be kept but that one to be made would. Treaties, as a matter of fact, are kept—as legal contracts, not as moral maxims.

A treaty is at once the most formal and the most solemn international engagement. A proper treaty is reciprocal and binds each party equally. When states have special interests common to each other they make treaties as between A and B, called bipartite treaties. A is bound to B and B to A, one treaty representing two engagements. We think of treaties as bipartite. But when more than two states have the same interest they join in expressing the engagement in a single document, signed by all. That is a multipartite treaty, of which the Covenant of the League of Nations, embodying the engagement under discussion, is an example.

The results of a multipartite treaty are both surprising and important. Each party is bound to every other, in the case of the Covenant, fifty-five being bound to each of the fifty-four other member states. It would actually take 1485 bipartite treaties to express the same amount of obligation. Further, the multipartite text is

single, so that there is but one standard and any practice or development under its terms becomes immediately general. The effect of such a document in giving direction to international life is almost incalculable.

The practical result of this underlying foundation is that the League states recognize as a fundamental policy in their international relations that arbitral methods shall be employed in every possible way. If in the end a dispute that gets out of hand is to be examined by third parties, it is only common sense to arrange for such procedure to apply to a specific possibility. Two objects become obvious. First, definite types of problems may bring disputes; and, second, the relations between two states may result in differences. In either case, an arrangement specially adapted to the issue will be preferred to referring the arguments to a general system, even an optional one as to method. There is everything to be said for localizing problems.

The first object, applying arbitral methods to definite types of problem, is now in general realization. All multipartite conventions made at Geneva—now more than fifty—contain a judicial "compromisory clause," unless participat-

ing non-members of the League object, as the United States has on some occasions done. This clause provides that any dispute as to the application or interpretation of the treaty shall be left to the Permanent Court of International Justice. It constantly widens the area of international relations subject to law rather than the caprice of national policies. Whole categories of affairs are so handled, like the entire mandate system. The jurisdiction of the court has been widened at the beginning of 1927 by a total of nearly 150 provisions in treaties other than its own statute.

It is natural that the standard described should affect multipartite international relations; it is scarcely less natural that it affects bipartite relations. I estimate that half of all bipartite treaties—now over 1300—signed since the war are subject to arbitration as to disputes arising from them. By actual count one-fifth of them contain arbitral clauses. Another fifth is easily covered by existing arbitration treaties of general scope. Still others are covered by general compromisory clauses, that in the Universal Postal Convention, for instance, affecting all bilateral postal agreements throughout the world. In such ways the scope of arbitral jurisdiction has

been steadily extended through the most diverse fields of state activity.

It was quite customary before the World War for states to go beyond that point and negotiate treaties providing for the general arbitration of disputes between them. Until 1899 these generally were unlimited in scope, but after the First Hague Conference the habit developed of making them so as to exclude most important questions from their jurisdiction. There are now fifty-nine unlimited treaties in force which were made before 1918. Over fifty limited treaties of that period have ceased to be effective. In 1926 there existed 287 pacific settlement treaties, of which nearly 100 had been made since the war. Except those to which the United States was a party, practically all of these were unlimited in scope.

The Permanent Court of International Justice, with a definite legal jurisdiction under its Statute, is a part of the picture. The year 1926 closed with fifty-two states having signed or ratified its protocol, while one other, Turkey, had a case pending before it. States making treaties either bilaterally or multilaterally may assign the Court additional or specific jurisdiction. The number of such treaties runs to nearly 150.

Further, states may engage to accept the Court's defined jurisdiction as compulsory, rather than optional. This is accomplished by subscribing to the Optional Clause, to which there are twenty-six signatories.

The salient fact that this narrative of result makes obvious is that arbitration is a very active principle in current international relations. The now classic formula of peace is "arbitration, security, and reduction of armaments." The world in general is committed no longer to seeking security simply by armament, but also by means of arbitration. It is recognized that the central problem of peace is the solving of international disputes. Arbitration rather than armament is the method best adapted for the purpose. This idea is operative, as a summary of the details will show:

1. The Covenant, equivalence in bilateral treaties 1485
2. Bilateral treaties, in force in 1926 287
3. Permanent Court, signatory equivalence in bilateral treaties 1326
4. Optional clause, bilateral equivalence .. 325
5. "Compromisory clauses" 187

Here is a network of more than 2000 bilateral engagements between the nations of the world to

employ the methods of pacific settlement, all voluntarily assumed. A movement of that magnitude in actual world affairs gives direction to events, and it does not stand still. It goes forward because it is being found to work.

The way it goes forward is by invading the hitherto sacrosanct precincts of "international politics." Scarcely a man is now alive who can recall the previous time when Franco-German relations were normally friendly. But Locarno came, superinduced by the effect of the arbitral network under discussion. It brought not only a peace insurance but a new outlook; it opened the way for other friendly developments between the parties and inspired other states to follow in the same path.

Arbitration is at the height of its prestige, but it has not reached the real peak of its usefulness. The network is not complete. If the Covenant covers potential danger spots as between the League states, there remain others outside the League which retain the old right to have their own way by military methods before, or without, seeking the right by arbitral methods.

CHAPTER V

DISARMAMENT

By William I. Hull

Are Russia and Germany to re-arm, or is the rest of the world to disarm? That is the practical question before us. Is the world to take up again the armaments rivalry of 1900 to 1914, which made certain the World War, and thus make certain another one? That is the fateful question of the next few years. To ask it, should suffice to have it answered and answered right.

Whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad. Against stupidity, even the gods are powerless. Fears have no ears. Man is a fighting animal, and never will get his fill of fighting. If you wish for peace, prepare for war: such are the commonplace expressions of an all-too-prevalent pessimism concerning war and disarmament.

But come let us reason together. Why is armament advocated? Why is disarmament demanded?

We must have armaments for defense, most

people are saying; for the defense of our country against conquest or defeat, in case war should occur. But there is a much better kind of defense, if it can be attained, and that is defense against war itself. Not merely peace without victory, but peace without war, is the slogan of twentieth century statesmanship and religion alike. Can the peoples be induced really to make this their aim,—the substitution of law for war, —and get down in dead earnest to the business of perfecting the one and discarding the other? The answer to that question is in the lap of the gods. But there is one thing certain, and that is that the cessation of preparations for war will make easier and surer the substitution of law.

We must have armaments to preserve the peace, many people are saying even *now;* let us make our armaments so formidable that no aggressor nation will dare attack us. For thousands of years this "barracks philosophy of peace" has been acted upon, and for thousands of years the world has been plunged in war. It is an exploded fallacy, exploded forever one would think by the unprecedented preparations for war after 1900 and the unprecedented war of 1914. Ah, if we had only been *better* prepared, the mili-

tarists in every belligerent country have said, the war would not have come. This is a pure assumption, as foolish as it is baseless, utterly unproved and unprovable, and directly contrary to the facts that did exist, adverse to all reason and experience. Arms of every kind made possible by twentieth century science were piled up like Pelion on Ossa and Ossa on Olympus, and alliances of the Great Powers superimposed upon them, for the avowed purpose of preserving the world's peace; only to bring the world at three distinct crises before 1914 to the verge of war, and to crown the history of war with the most awful war in history.

But if our neighbors arm, we must arm, too; armaments have caused war and may cause war again, but if war comes, we must be able to ward off defeat. So runs the vicious circle. The way to cut it, is to prevent armaments from causing war. No country arms to itself alone. Since armaments are designed for use against other nations, either to defeat them or to prevent them from defeating us, it is inevitable that armaments will be not solely national, but competitive among nations. If there were one nation absolutely pure of heart in its stand for peace and righteousness, and if the biggest battalions

could always be in that nation's hands, there would be some sense though a vast deal of tyranny in the theory. But the theory is pure moonshine, when it is admitted in all honesty that no nation, not even our own, can possibly have a monopoly in the love and practice of peace and righteousness, and that no nation, however big, wealthy, and ingenious can continually outstrip other nations and the inevitable alliances of other nations in the death-dealing devices of war. The modern sciences of chemistry, mechanics, and pathology are no respecters of the big powers, or even of the biggest. "Scientific" preparations for war are open to all alike, and all alike have the heel, as well as the sword and buckler, of Achilles. Hence the endless competition in the kind and size of armaments, and the fear, suspicion, and hatred which make their use inevitable.

"Patriotism" is the last refuge, not so much of scoundrels in our time as in Dr. Johnson's, perhaps, but it is the last resort of militarist logicians. Driven by reason and experience from point to point, they fall back upon "love of country" as the unanswerable and not-to-be-criticized reason why every young man should be trained to die for his country in his country's

wars, and why every older man, every woman, and child should be prepared to do their bit to help their young men kill the young men of other countries, and thus make peace and justice prevail. Ignoring the arrogance which assumes that the best, if not the only, patriots are those whose hearts beat beneath a suit of khaki, it is quite reasonable to believe that twentieth century patriotism includes other and even higher services to one's country than preparations to bring it victory in war, and that among these services is that of keeping it and other nations *out* of war.

Indeed it is becoming increasingly plain that preparations to participate in war are among the most *un*patriotic acts in which a true lover of his country can possibly engage. For, since competition in armaments is inevitable, every citizen who pins his faith to armaments should insist on their being developed to the *n*th degree, and this brings that dread and hated disease known as "militarism,"—especially to be dreaded and hated in a democracy. As Theodore Roosevelt used to say, there is no use in building a bridge only halfway over a river; if you are going to arm for love of country, then you should arm, not only to the teeth, but to the heart and soul as well. Hence, "adequate"

armament means, least of all physical, and most of all economic, educational, scientific, political, diplomatic, and even moral, and religious preparedness to fight. We saw what it meant along all of these lines during the World War. And in the years since the last truce in the unending history of war was declared, every country has continued during these eight years of so-called peace to prepare to the best of its ability along each and all of them. To neglect any one of them might cause defeat when "the next war" comes; hence common sense demands that we shall engage in no halfway measures.

The variety and extent of the military program of "preparedness," even in our own mighty and exceptionally located republic, is utterly amazing to one who takes pains to inform himself of the facts and figures. Merely to state these facts and figures would require a book instead of a chapter. Let us all be on the watch in our daily newspaper reading and we will be not only informed, but enlightened. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, in this as in everything. For this program, while it hopes blindly for victory in war, prepares assuredly for war itself by teaching people to rely upon war and to cultivate those habits of mind and

heart which make war most effective. Thus, it becomes a crime against our youth, who are in this world for wholly different purposes; against our republic, which was destined to wholly different and higher things; and against the future welfare of our own posterity and that of all other peoples, whom we profess to regard as children of our common Father, our brethren in Jesus Christ.

There is another aspect of the question, why armaments are demanded or resisted, which demands the close attention of every lover of his country and his kind. When the economic aspect of armaments is discussed, reference is usually made to the enormous burden which they are still laying upon the backs of the people in every land, and to the measureless aid to social welfare which the capital and labor devoted to military purposes might render if devoted to productive or remedial uses. And certainly a most impressive indictment against them is supplied by the official statistics. For example, Secretary Mellon estimates our country's annual expenditure for future war at more than one-fifth of the annual appropriations, and for the annual military bill as a whole at more than four-fifths! What beneficent activities would be promoted by

these worse than wasted four-fifths! While in Europe, expenditure upon armaments alone is said to require at least one month yearly from all the industrial plants and producers, and to constitute for the great mass of the people the difference between grinding penury and a reasonable standard of comfort.[1]

But this is not the only or even the worst economic aspect of the armaments policy. They are being advocated more and more not only for use against other nations, but also and perhaps chiefly in that "class war" which is heralded on every side. For example, an increasing number of employers believe that their chief function will be to crush such labor "difficulties" as those in the coal mines of West Virginia, or to suppress a "general strike," and hence they gladly cooperate with the War Department in enlisting manufacturing establishments for future "war," and in giving military training to their sons in college. On the other hand, an increasing number of laborers, whose sons usually stop with a high-school education, are countering the Reserve Officers' Training Corps by supporting the War Department's introduction of military training

[1] Sir Josiah Stamp's "The Division of the Product of Industry," p. 97.

into as many high schools as possible and into the Citizens' Military Training Camps.

This ominous aspect of our military preparedness program should make every American stop, look, listen, and determine that our industrial problem shall be settled by some other means than the "clash of arms," in a "class war," in which the classes of other nations might easily participate and thus make it one of the most horrible of world wars. Other nations naturally regard this military training in civilian schools as a very strong and very menacing part of our military program, and such lands as Japan and Russia are beginning to imitate it as far and as fast as they are able.

The whole armaments program is a concession to the extreme nationalism of the last century which is being put out of date in our time, not only by the growing solidarity of the employing and employed classes in all the nations which have experienced the Industrial Revolution, but also by the growing internationalism in the political, educational, and religious fields of thought and action. And perhaps the chief immediate reason for disarmament is that without disarmament there can be no sense of security, and without a sense of security there can be no arbitra-

tion, no thoroughly successful world court, and no highly fruitful coöperation among the nations in the accomplishment of the world's great tasks and the world's real work. What possible use would it be, for example, for American delegates at the next conference on disarmament to urge Russia to disband its army, Great Britain, France, and Italy to dismantle their fleets in the air and on and under the seas, and Germany to rely upon exclusively peaceful methods of achieving justice and security from its Russian, French, and Italian neighbors, while at the same time our own government is leading its people to invent and adopt ever new and more deadly scientific, economic, and military methods of waging war?

Disarmament must come, then, because the armaments policy of our time does not insure victory in time of war (and never did or can, President Coolidge declares); because it does not preserve the peace, but on the contrary makes war inevitable (as Lord Grey and numerous recent statesmen and some generals and admirals have declared); because it is based on international competition, and thus is the fruitful parent of the suspicion, fear, and economic imperialism among the nations which have precipitated so many wars in the past and which so darkly men-

ace the peace of the future; because it is allied with the twentieth century's unprecedented scientific and industrial development, thus making it endless as they are endless, and at the same time so frightfully destructive of human life and property as to menace the continuance of civilized life; because it is the chief support of a spurious kind of patriotism and the chief foe of a discriminating and reasonable love of country; because, to become thoroughly efficient in the waging of war, it must militarize the minds and hearts, not only of the soldier at the front, but of the citizens and institutions of the whole nation, thus making all life subservient to war or preparations for war, and therefore to civilized and particularly to Christian men, not worth living; because it is fomenting and would make frightfully bitter and world-wide the "class-war" which is casting its shadow across our time; and because it is the chief obstacle to the adoption and sucess of its rival policy, namely, the settlement of disputes among nations by the peaceful methods which have begun with such fair promise of success in our time.

Conceding, then, that disarmament is demanded by statesmanship, industry, religion, the continuance of civilization, the temporal and

eternal welfare of our human race, how is it to be brought about? Two visible steps have been taken for its achievement. At the Washington Conference of 1921–22, the reduction and limitation of battleships was agreed upon and has been realized. The League of Nations has appointed a commission of experts to prepare for another, world-wide conference, and this commission has been wrestling with the problem of what heads of the octopus shall be lopped off next; shall these be conscription, private dealing in arms, the size of standing armies, colonial troops, cruisers, submarines, airships, gas warfare, manufacturing and transportation systems, natural resources, education (especially in history), press and pulpit propaganda? Which of these heads shall be struck at? Can they be lopped off effectively, as regards military purposes, and not injure their rightful uses? Will not a dozen heads spring up where one flourished before? Will not the science of attack and defense substitute, as always, ever new and more deadly devices of slaughter for those which are discarded?

The problem to the laymen seems so endless and so complicated as to be insoluble; and there are numerous sad evidences that the military ex-

perts, and the politicians who are engaged in *haute politique* abroad or in holding office at home, are not desperately in earnest in its solution. What of the seers and prophets, the religious leaders, the *Christian* leaders, of the people? Is there no *principle* of eternal right and eternal wisdom which can and should be applied to solve this most evil problem, to absolve this greatest sin of our time? Surely the God of Righteousness and the Prince of Peace have not forsaken this generation in its time of direst need. Thou shalt not kill; put up thy sword: need we seek further in the law and the prophets than this? Verily, it is not the kind or extent of armaments that constitutes the unpardonable sin; it is not the kind or extent of armaments to be abolished that constitutes the problem to be solved. Surely, it is simply this: Shall we discard the *use* of armaments, of any kind, of any size, for any international purpose whatsoever? Is it the military *method* of settling disputes among nations that we are out against? Is there another method in whose efficacy and righteousness we sincerely believe? Are we willing to choose this day on which side we will stand? Are we willing to try to lead the peoples to believe, and to say to their political servants, that the *military*

method must and shall go, because it is wrong and stupid, and therefore not necessary in this world as long as God is in His heaven and in His earth? Are we willing ourselves to venture and to lead the peoples to adventure in this highest and holiest cause of our time?

If so, there is reason to believe that the next conference on disarmament, or the next after that, or the next after *that*, will achieve genuine "disarmament," by pledging the nations to discard the use of armaments for the enforcement of either justice or peace, to resort only to the peaceful means of settling their disputes, and thus to abolish once and for all both war and preparations for war.

Meanwhile, every little step toward disarmament which the governments may take will be heartily welcomed, of course, as a step in the right direction, and as being useful in itself by helping to turn the peoples' faces away from the war-method and toward the peace-method, to disarm their minds and hearts of the *habit* of resorting to force. But every successful journey must have a goal; we must know exactly where we are headed, if we want to be sure to turn right at the crossroads, and if we ever expect to arrive. Let it be the high service of the churches

to set this goal plainly before the peoples, to give them a clear vision of it, to remind them constantly of the divine inspiration and Christian incentive to press on steadily toward it, without slacking, without swerving, without compromise, unafraid, unashamed, in single-hearted devotion to that great and essential feature of the Kingdom of God upon earth.

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CHAPTER VI

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By Henry A. Atkinson

Everyone agrees that in order to eliminate war there must be some form of world organization for settling international disputes which will provide the machinery necessary for conciliation, arbitration, and their judicial adjustment.

Anarchy exists in the relation of the nations in their dealings with each other. Internationally the world is living in a pioneer age; every nation is a law unto itself to such an extent that an enthusiast discussing the codification of international law, when faced with the facts by one who knew world conditions, had to admit that before codifying international law there would have to be some international law to codify. Laws are developed through precedents and up to the present there has been little worthy of being perpetuated and followed. Civilized life is impossible in any community except as there are developed the instruments which guarantee security and make justice possible. No effective

argument can be urged against the necessity for such world organization. The only division of opinion comes when we begin to discuss the question of the kind of organization that is needed.

The world organization, whatever it may be called, must render service in studying, investigating, and giving publicity to the facts regarding actual conditions in the various countries. It should sponsor occasional conferences dealing with particular questions, should set up Commissions to carry out great humanitarian purposes on a world-wide scale, and thus it becomes an agency for removing the obvious causes of war, and in most cases it would avert war. In other words, it would be an instrument for quick peace. All through the interesting story of his twenty-five years as a public servant of Great Britain, Lord Grey bewails the fact that invariably, when the nations found themselves in difficulties there was no instrument that could be used and no organization to which they could turn to help iron out the difficulties and prevent the clash of arms. He shows how all the efforts of the nations were bent toward making war easy, while at the same time there was no constructive effort on the part of any of the nations to create an organ that could be used for the peace-

ful settlement of international disputes. Stresemann, in a statement issued through the Associated Press just before Christmas, said that the war would not have occurred had there been a League of Nations in 1914. "If the statesmen could have met for four or five weeks in 1914, just as the foreign ministers met at Locarno and Geneva, and discussed the situation frankly and unreservedly, I am convinced that the Great War would have been averted." Briand speaks to the same effect in these words: "The old adage had it that preparation for war was the best guarantee of peace; we know to-day to what terrible consequences may lead the acceptance of such a method of reasoning and at the hour when in occidental thoughts are evoked the memories of the old Christmas and the great hope that spread through the world in connection with it, we may with profit reckon up what has been done toward preparation for peace. The peoples of the world have begun to realize that it is necessary to give themselves whole-heartedly to peace and to set up the technical means needed to do away with the old automatic risks of war." Hirohito, the new Emperor of Japan, in his first message to his people committed his nation to the theory that some world organization is necessary for

securing peace. Mr. Elihu Root, in his address accepting the prize from the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, contrasted the old diplomatic methods carried on by individual nations in dealing with their problems, with the new method of conference and adjustment through compromise based upon a world organization. The former is halting, and breaking down makes war inevitable; the latter is successful in almost every instance. There is no difficulty between men and nations which cannot be adjusted if you can bring the parties together. There are, of course, inherited differences of opinion and points on which the nations will always differ. A world organization makes it possible for the nations to recognize this situation and agree where they can, and where agreement is impossible find ways and means by which they can each still hold to their own point of view but remain friendly.

Such a world organization as is here outlined and the reasons given for it make it inevitable that it should be constituted so that all the nations, great and small, will have a part in it and its work. Any association of the nations for peace that is not universal in its membership will almost inevitably become a coalition against the

nations on the outside. It has been argued that it would be a good thing to have a grouping of the nations upon the basis of geographical location, such as a Pan-European League, a Pan-American League, and a Pan-Asiatic League. From the interest involved in each locality, such an arrangement would perhaps make the settlement of specific disputes easier, but the danger is that instead of these various organizations becoming instruments for peace, they would become new balances of power and coalitions of one group against the other. Another danger would certainly be created if the world organization had in its membership all of the major nations of the world, with the exception of one or two, and a few small states. The strong nations on the outside would naturally find themselves at certain times in opposition to the things being done by the League, and inevitably would seek to draw to their support the other and smaller nations. A parallel is found in the relation of the nations to the Geneva League. No American can look with complacency upon the attitude of our government in its dealings with Panama. Here is a mighty nation, standing outside of the supreme council of the nations of the world, and by its overwhelming strength and

economic power, coercing a nation like Panama to disregard her pledge in signing the Covenant of the League of Nations and bring her into a military alliance. This is but a beginning and an illustration of what might possibly develop in the world where we would have the League protecting the interests of itself against an independent and powerful nation with its group of dependencies on the outside.

The League of Nations at Geneva fulfills nearly all the conditions that can be laid down by the most competent student of international affairs, and were there no sharp political differences in regard to the League, all lovers of peace in the United States, as well as in all the other nations, would heartily approve and sincerely coöperate in making effective the machinery now in existence; and its remarkable success during these last years would have their entire approbation. Unfortunately politics, in this case as in many another, has played havoc with idealism. To quote Mr. Root, "we have allowed insensate prejudice and camouflaged, futile phrases falsely to appear to represent the true heart of the American people, with all its idealism, with its breadth of human sympathy, with its strong desire that our country should do its share for

peace and happiness and noble life in all the world."

The League is the hope of the world. Should it fail so signally as to lose the confidence of its supporters and be forced to go out of existence, new combinations would arise immediately. Europe would become an armed camp and war would result. In fact, but for the League the peace which was based on an armistice would have been broken long before this time. In the Peace Exhibit at the Sesqui-Centennial at Philadelphia was shown a model drawn up by the War Department, in which was represented the advance in warfare since the eighteenth century. Instead of arms and cannon that were effective at a few hundred yards, modern warfare has taken on an aspect that involves whole nations and peoples. The question of neutrality is today tied up with so many intricate conditions that it is almost impossible to make any dogmatic statement in regard to what a nation should, would, or could do in the event of war between other states. The network of commerce, of art, of science, and education has tied us into a bundle so that if war breaks out in one place it will, if it be of any significance at all, involve the whole world. Great advances have

been made recently in adjusting difficulties and creating the machinery by which peace can be assured. Many difficulties have been encountered and most of them surmounted, but even so, thoughtful men in all the nations are fearful of the future. Some are sure that war will come inside of ten years, some, five years; some more fearful souls feel that it is likely to occur at almost any time; and there is scarcely a person who thinks at all but what feels that war is almost certain within a generation. The only hope is in the League at Geneva. The statement is often made something as follows: "Troops are gathering on the Albanian border, Italy is nervous, the Balkans are tense, Russia awaits her chance, France is involved, American interests may be jeopardized. The only hope is that the League will find a way out of the difficulty."

The League has had remarkable success. To recount the things it has done would be to give a long catalogue of actions, many of which are intricate, most of them well known. It has settled innumerable disputes, adjusted questions that seemed almost impossible of solution—for instance, the difficulty between Italy and Greece —made possible the creation of the World Court, and set up an international labor bureau and

various commissions to deal with matters affecting the deepest interests of human life. Without the League there could have been no Locarno Conference and the new spirit that this name signifies. The League has promoted a number of international conferences, provides for the filing of treaties, and in other ways makes it possible to give widest publicity so that in their dealings with each other the nations find it more difficult to hide behind the veil of secrecy and work out their plans regardless of the interests of the people involved, as they have in the past.

The League has not been uniformly successful. There have been setbacks. Time and again things have happened that were so grave that its critics have said, "This means the end of the League." When the Assembly met in March, 1926, and failed to admit Germany it did look like a tragedy, but the failures of the League in the last seven years have been less disastrous than even its warmest friends feared they might have been. All governmental agencies have been passing through a trying period. Compare the League as an international body with the legislative bodies of England, France, Germany, Italy, and America, and the successes are at least equally divided. Confusion, chaos, change: this

has been the history of all governments and governmental agencies. That a new instrument, and one which demands such far-reaching changes in the temper and life of the nations themselves, should have succeeded as it has, gives ample assurance of the fact that it is needed and that it is the kind of agency that should be created.

The League is a great experiment of faith, in which are being tried out certain plans for increasing the hope for security, welfare, and peace among the nations. Every experimental station registers some successes and many failures, but its success is measured by its ultimate results. As a boy the writer lived in Santa Rosa, California. He remembers vividly the jeers of the neighbors as they in their superior wisdom looked upon Luther Burbank's experimental work. Year after year Burbank planted flowers, fruits, and vegetables, and just at the time when they were bearing, he would plow them up. The common remark around town was, "Well, Burbank is plowing up his orchard again." Last year Burbank died and the fact that he had lived in Santa Rosa put that town on the map. He had failed thousands of times; he had succeeded a hundred times; his successes are remembered.

Geneva is a great experimental station. It was once put on the map because of John Calvin; to-day the world knows Geneva because of one thing, and that is the League of Nations. Geneva is synonymous with the League. As time goes on the failures of this organization will be considered of less importance than its successes. It is a mighty instrument for good that is being fashioned by those leaders of the nations who are responsible for the League and its work.

The League of Nations is not perfect, nor is it so sacred that it is sacrilege to suggest changes in its structure and in the form of its work. There is a growing feeling that some radical readjustments are necessary. Many of its warmest supporters feel that experience so far warrants them in a further elimination of all the elements in the League Covenant which rest upon force. It is reasonable to suppose that in the background of every proposal there is permission for the ultimate use of force if necessary. It will be a long time before we can live in a world without policemen, but experience in dealing with the nations so far indicates that it is not necessary to use force, and that those provisions which are based upon military and naval sanctions should be modified or eliminated alto-

gether. Unless the League can bring about a peaceable settlement between contending nations through the exercise of reason and restraint, it is not probable that it can ever command an army and navy to force its decision upon any recalcitrant nation.

The League Council presents a difficulty and it is proposed by thoughtful men that it should be changed so that it would be composed solely of representatives of the European nations, and should deal only with those political questions which are purely European.

The Assembly of the League should be made up of representatives of all the nations just as is contemplated in the covenant and should deal with world problems. The difficulty that is developing in Geneva is that the Council is tending to become of more importance than the Assembly itself. In this respect it is paralleling what has happened in our own country. The House of Representatives has a very minor place in public esteem, while the Senate has grown in power out of all proportion to the place contemplated for it by the framers of our Constitution. *The Assembly of the League should be the major body and no secondary grouping of the states should be permitted to take precedence over it.*

In the Assembly the representatives of the various nations are gathered together to express their opinions and to give voice to their views. The Council provides a means for the old "hole in the corner" diplomatic methods which would be impossible if a larger emphasis were put upon the value of the Assembly, as such. In effect, the Assembly of the League of Nations should be the people of the world meeting together at stated times to discuss the affairs of this world in which we live.

A difficulty which would face the Council if it were made European in its scope, is that other parts of the globe would have less opportunity than they have at present to participate in the actual management of the League. To obviate this difficulty it should be frankly recognized that there is need for another Council of the League to represent Pan-American interests, and still another to represent Asiatic affairs. If Africa ever came to a place where there was solidarity enough so that it could think in terms of itself, it should be included in this regional arrangement. Each one of these specific councils would deal with the problems that affect them, and each council would be represented in the League Assembly. Without the World As-

sembly, the regional arrangement is nothing more than a new balance of power; with the Assembly it becomes a businesslike method of handling problems that makes for universal peace.

In addition to the regional arrangement, as suggested, there would be, of course, an Executive Committee appointed which would be, in effect, the present secretariat. To this would be committed the task of directing the Commissions and it would be held responsible for all the humanitarian work of the League, and would act as its representative in preparing all its business, facts, resolutions, and plans. Thus it would become the supreme executive agency of the League with direct responsibility to the Assembly to act as the agent for each one of the regional groups.

America is now coöperating with the League, although there is still too much criticism and too little frank recognition of the great service that the League is rendering. One of the visitors at Geneva at the last meeting of the Assembly of the League said: "It is not comfortable for an American to be here. I can't help but feel ashamed of the attitude of our government." On the other hand, it is well for us to recognize just what we are doing as a nation. America is

filing with the League all the treaties we are making with other nations; America is coöperating in all the commissions of the League and their work; America voted to join the World Court, which was created by a commission set up by the League, and which commission was represented by her foremost jurist and leading citizen, Elihu Root. Certain reservations were attached to our adherence to the Court which may keep us out, but at least America has made a motion toward membership. America is represented through distinguished citizens serving on the secretariat of the League; America is represented through the enormous sums given to help carry out the work of the League and its commissions; America is represented in the Labor Bureau; America is represented on the Preliminary Committee of the Disarmament Conference by official appointees of the government, and also on the committee appointed to study the question of the codification of international law.

America ought to become a member of the League. This great association of the nations is at present the only real agency to substitute reason and law for wholesale slaughter in the settlement of international disputes. The United States is the most powerful nation in the

whole world, economically as well as in a military sense. The League can never be a real success without the coöperation of the United States. The League is willing, through its leaders, to take up with America at any time any real difficulty to our joining it, and will make any reasonable changes in its structure that will leave our nation "no excuse for longer remaining outside."

What a happy thing it would be if, instead of our great nation, through some of its newspapers and in other ways, spreading false reports and unwarranted criticisms of the League and its work, and even some of the friends of peace constantly pointing out its failures and mistakes, we would all join in every effort that is now being made to make known the fact that here is a great organization devoted to the peace of the world, and would take our full share of pride in the successes it is winning! If America cannot find its way into the League of Nations, at least the lovers of peace in America ought to find no difficulty in helping to strengthen the hands of the League and make it a still stronger factor in bringing in a reign of peace.

The coöperation of our government should be in line with our traditions. We are not and must

not be involved in European quarrels, but the world has become so small and our interests are so great and widespread that if we stay out and the League fails, and there occurs another world war, our nation and all of our resources will surely be among the very first swept into the conflict, and we will be held largely responsible for it no matter who fires the first gun.

CHAPTER VII

THE WORLD COURT

By George W. Wickersham

The Permanent Court of International Justice embodies the principles, the ideals and the aspirations of the American people. When nations disagree, there are only two ways of settling the dispute. One is by force—that is, war. The other is by peaceful solution. This latter may be done by diplomatic negotiation, by process of conciliation, by arbitration, or by taking the dispute before a court of law, just as is done in the civil life of any community.

The United States has long been an advocate of arbitration in international disputes, but arbitration necessarily has its limitations. Men are brought together to consider a particular case; generally there is a certain number who represent each of the contestants and they choose a supposedly impartial umpire. Then, after hearing facts, they compromise on a conclusion, without always giving satisfactory reasons for the conclusion they have reached.

The first attempt to improve the method of

judicial arbitration was made at the First Conference held at The Hague, capital of the Netherlands, in 1899. Even at that time, American governmental opinion favored the creation of a permanently established international court, whose judges would sit regularly as in American courts, but the American delegates were unable to win the support of other great nations to the idea. The Conference, instead, created The Hague Peace Tribunal, misnamed a *court*, for the purpose of better regulating the process of arbitration. A panel of distinguished individuals from various countries was made up by nomination on the part of each nation of four members, and a provision was made for drawing from this panel a certain number to act as arbitrators when a given dispute should arise. The American delegation accepted this plan as a good beginning.

Eight years elapsed before the Second Hague Conference was held. During that time, only four international disputes had been submitted to arbitration under The Hague protocol, and the American government, considering such progress entirely unsatisfactory, again urged the foundation of a court of international justice. Mr. Elihu Root, American Secretary of State,

instructed the American delegates to the 1907 conference to use their best efforts to bring about a development of The Hague Tribunal into a permanent tribunal, composed of judges who would be judicial officers and nothing else, who would be paid adequate salaries, who would have no other occupation and who would devote their entire time to the trial and decision of international cases by judicial methods and under a sense of judicial responsibility.

The Conference generally approved these suggestions of the American delegates, but no method was then devised for electing judges in a way which would be satisfactory to large and small nations alike. However, the above preliminary proposals of the American delegation were put into a formal draft which was sent for approval to the various nations and which was to take effect when some method could be devised for the selection of judges.

That convention, framed largely by the American delegates to The Hague Conference of 1907, was actually the foundation on which the present Permanent Court of International Justice was built. It should be added that it was Mr. Root who finally worked out the system of electing judges which proved acceptable to all.

The outbreak of the War in 1914 found the several governments still considering plans for the election of judges to a court as outlined at the 1907 sessions of The Hague Conference. Another six years was to elapse before the proper method was found.

The Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919 provided for the establishment of the League of Nations. Article Fourteen of the League's Covenant (its constitution and by-laws) constituted the instruction to the League's Council to formulate a plan for a Permanent Court of International Justice ". . . competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it." On February 13, 1920, the Council named a committee of the foremost jurists of the world to draft provisions for an international court.

The members of this committee were: Mineichiro Adatci, of Japan; Professor Crevea, of Madrid; Raoul Fernandes, of Brazil; Senator Descamps, of Belgium; Francis Hagerup, of Norway; Professor de Lapradelle, of Paris; B. C. J. Loder, the Netherlands; Lord Phillimore, of Great Britain; Arturo Ricci-Busatti, of Italy, and Elihu Root, of the United States.

The commission drew up a protocol and a statute for the organization of the court, which, after approval with some modifications, by the Council and the Assembly of the League of Nations, was submitted for acceptance to the various powers who were members of the League and to the states mentioned in the annex to the Covenant. This list includes all of the original members of the League who were signatories to the Treaty of Versailles (including the United States) as well as thirteen other states who were invited to join.

On December 16, 1920, the protocol was ready for submission to all the nations of the earth of any consequence, except Germany, Russia, and Mexico. By September, of the following year, twenty-six nations had ratified it, four more than the majority needed for the establishment of the tribunal. In that same month, the Assembly of the League of Nations proceeded with the election of judges, in accordance with the plan adopted by the Committee of Jurists on the suggestion of Elihu Root (explained in a later section of this syllabus) and on January 30, 1922, the Court held a preliminary session to formulate its own rules, which were completed

and announced on March 24, 1922. Thus was the first World Court of Justice set up and started functioning, nearly a quarter of a century after American statesmen had proposed it to the nations of the earth.

The Permanent Court of International Justice is composed of eleven judges and four deputy judges. The method finally adopted for choosing the judges is as follows: Each national group accredited to The Hague Tribunal (it will be remembered that that was the institution first established in 1899) submits not more than four nominations, not more than two of whom can be of the same nationality, and from these nominations the Council of the League of Nations, in which the great powers are dominant, and the Assembly of the League, composed of representatives of all nations, select the judges by ballot. The nominees receiving the highest number of votes, being a majority in each body, are declared elected. A judge may be reëlected, and is removable only in case all other judges shall certify in writing that he has ceased to fulfill the qualifications required by the statute. Only one judge of any nationality may sit in the Court.

The Court is required to meet at least once a year, the annual session beginning on June 15.

It may hold as many special sessions as necessary.

Each judge receives an annual salary of slightly more than $6000, with certain small expense allowances. The judges elect their own President and Vice President for three-year terms; appoint the registrar, who is chosen for seven years and must reside at The Hague; and generally regulate the technical workings of their tribunal. The cost of the World Court now averages approximately $250,000 per annum, which sum is first paid out of the budget of the League of Nations, and, in turn, is reimbursed by pro rata contributions of the states signatories to the Protocol. The administration of the funds of the Court is entirely independent of the League Council and Secretariat. The costs of special cases brought before the Court are over and above the expense of general maintenance, and there are special regulations for assessing litigants. When a state not a member of the League is party to a dispute, the Court fixes the amount that nation must pay.

In the case of the United States, this country, not being a member of the League of Nations, may send its annual proportionate share of the expense of maintaining the Court directly to the

Registrar of the Court, but that share must be "determined and appropriated from time to time by the Congress of the United States" in accordance with the third of our reservations. It has been generally estimated that American participation will not cost us in excess of $40,000 a year.

The Permanent Court of International Justice has been functioning about five and a half years, having met for the first time on January 30, 1922. In that time, it has given seven judgments which, in the opinion of impartial jurists, have gone far in clarifying several definite international problems. I will make no attempt here to give a complete list of these judgments, but they deal variously with the right to use neutral waterways in the shipment of munitions, with the validity of certain international commercial concessions, with difficulties arising out of rearrangement of national territories by the holding of plebiscites. (A plebiscite is merely a referendum vote of all nationals living in any one district.)

Also, in the course of its five and a half years, the Permanent Court of International Justice has given twelve advisory opinions on the request of the Council of the League of Nations;

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that is, the Court has answered certain legal questions addressed to it by the Council. There has been much criticism of these advisory opinions of the World Court, the opponents of the practice declaring that the system merely gives a legal cloak to the political purposes of the League's Council. The giving of advisory opinions by the Court at the request of the Council is in no wise compulsory upon the Court. This was proved quite clearly when in one instance the Court refused to answer a question addressed to it by the Council, involving the interpretation of a treaty between Finland and Russia, because the latter country, not being a member of the League or a signatory to the protocol creating the Court, refused to recognize its jurisdiction.

Three of the twelve advisory opinions deal with matters of vital interest to the labor world and I will rely on a detailed explanation of the very first advisory opinion given by the Court, and asked for by the Council at the direct request of the International Labor Office, to show the simple legal qualities of this procedure.

The most important power confided to courts and judges is the power to investigate and decide disputes. The principal objections to the

practice of a court rendering an opinion at the instance of the executive branch or legislative branch of a government always has been that in effect it was a decision of an unargued case. The World Court, very wisely at the outset, adopted rules to the effect that when an application was made to it for an opinion, it would give notice to all states members of the League or mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant, and to all other bodies which seemed to have an interest in the question, of the request and that the Court would hear argument at the bar by any one of those parties claiming to be interested in the subject and render a decision only after the fullest argument pro and con. This in effect has turned the procedure of the application for an opinion into what, in modern practice, is known as an application for a declaratory judgment. It has enabled the Court to settle principles of law after full consideration of all sides of the question and by settling the rules of law applicable to the controversy, in more than one instance, it has made possible the adjustment of an international complication which might otherwise have been incapable of peaceful solution.

In some American States the judges of the

highest court have authority distinctly similar to the authority granted in the international sphere to the Permanent Court of International Justice. In Massachusetts, the justices of the Supreme Judicial Court are authorized to give opinions "upon important questions of law and upon solemn occasions," at the request of either branch of the legislature or of the government or council. Since the adoption of the Constitution in 1780 the Massachusetts justices have given about 150 such opinions which form an important source of law in that state. Similar authority is possessed by judges in New Hampshire, Maine, Rhode Island, Florida, Colorado, South Dakota, Delaware, and Alabama.

In handling controversies between nations which are susceptible of determination by judicial proceedings, the World Court must apply the provisions of existing treaties as well as the generally accepted principles of international law.

International law never has meant, as a practical matter, the kind of law that is passed by a session of a state or national legislature. It is a body of usages of civilized peoples, which has grown up during centuries and is to be found in the writings of jurists, in approved treatises,

and in the decisions of tribunals. From an early date, the courts of the United States have held that international law was a part of our law, and there has grown up in this country a considerable body of decision by the Supreme Court of the United States which serves actually to establish principles of international law applicable to particular cases.

Again, when a court has once decided a question, after full investigation and consideration, it is apt to follow its previous decision, even though this Court, following Continental jurisprudence, is not bound to do so. And so as questions of international law come before the Permanent Court and are argued and determined by it, principles are established which, while not binding on the Court in other cases, as a matter of practice will be adhered to by the same Court when similar questions again come up for determination.

No general code of international law ever has been agreed upon by two or more countries officially, but rules of international law may be agreed upon by treaties and the World Court in its decisions is greatly aided in the process of settling international law on many subjects.

The League has no control whatsoever over the acts of the Court, which in the decision of cases submitted to it is required to apply the provisions of treaties or conventions, international custom, and the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations. As I stated before, there is no way for the Council of the League to force the World Court to give an advisory opinion if it does not see fit to do so.

Nor is the Court in any sense a substitute for the League. The latter is a means of conference, of mutual understanding and of the avoidance of controversy. The Court acts only upon controversies between parties, except in so far as it may pass upon questions submitted to it without controversy, such as is done by the highest courts of the several American States which I have already mentioned.

There are at this time 56 nations which are members of the League of Nations, and 52 of these 56 have signed the protocol of the World Court. They are Abyssinia, Albania, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, British Empire, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, the Do-

minican Republic, Esthonia, Finland, France, Guatemala, Germany, Greece, Haiti, Hungary, India, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Liberia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Persia, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Salvador, Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Siam, Union of South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay and Venezuela.

The following nations are members of the League but have not yet adhered to the World Court Protocol: Argentina, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Peru. Six others—Afghanistan, Ecuador, Egypt, Mexico, Russia, and Turkey—are still outside. The United States, of course, has voted adherence but will not become an actual member until the forty-eight other states have individually accepted our reservations. Seven of these states have already accepted.

Any nation may become a member of the World Court "provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations and shall present such regulations as might be prescribed by the League in regard to its military and naval forces and armaments." These requirements are obviously essential in dealing with revolutionary states and bear a resemblance to the re-

quirements which our own government has set up in regard to Russia as conditions of recognition.

The great ideal of the founders of the Court (and of the League) was the preservation of the peace of the world through the establishment and maintenance of justice in the dealings of nations with each other.

The World Court, in the respects in which I have here outlined its services, can be and will be of the utmost value to the world. By all of its decisions and declaratory judgments it will go on settling vital principles in the conduct of world relations and it will help in the progressive codification of international law. The decisions of such a Court, composed of eminent and learned men as are the judges at The Hague, cannot fail to command respect on the part of nations which are not adherents to the Court, while, on the other hand, the existence of that body and the exercise of that jurisdiction, emphasizing as it does the value of peaceful processes of international adjustment, should appeal with increasing force to the peoples of other countries which have not yet become adherents to the Court, and lead their governments to give their coöperation in the maintenance and the effective operation

of this most advanced mechanism for the maintenance of international justice.

No intelligent plan for securing world peace could omit, in my opinion, the approval of such an institution as the Permanent Court of International Justice.

CHAPTER VIII

THE OUTLAWRY OF WAR

By Raymond Robins

During the War and the disillusioning aftermath of the War, peace-loving men and women the world over have been seeking some answer to the problem of war, some protection for the future against the colossal catastrophe of 1914. In the past eight years many methods and programs for the securing of durable world peace have been wrought out of the intensive thinking of peace advocates. One of these is a plan known as the "Outlawry of War," originated and exploited by a Chicago lawyer, S. O. Levinson, to the support of which have come a great body of people, especially in this country, and many distinguished thinkers including Philander Chase Knox, late Senator, Secretary of State and Attorney General of the United States; William Edgar Borah, United States Senator; John Dewey, the leading philosopher of this hemisphere; Charles Clayton Morrison,

the brilliant religious editor; and Justice Florence E. Allen of the Ohio Supreme Court.

The advocates of Outlawry regard war as the institutional product of the war system, the recognized legal method of *compelling* settlements of international controversies, for which three-fourths of the national revenue of most nations is consumed in the creation and development of animate and inanimate machinery for human slaughter. The Outlawrists contend that as long as the institution of war remains legal, and international questions can be determined by the arbitrament of force, the hell of war will remain on earth and that all devices to control or humanize war are mere repeated processes of international self-deception, and that so long as title to territory, wealth, and population passes to the successful in a resort to force, just so long will war continue to be paramount and authoritative.

In studying the nature of war as an institution, Outlawry advocates find that there have been other institutions, hoary with age, deeply embedded in the traditions of mankind, which, although they may have served a purpose in the past, have become outworn and a menace to the stability of society, and that such institutions have been successively outlawed and overthrown.

For example, the international slave trade, the code duello, domestic slavery, polygamy, and the degenerate American saloon. In each of these instances there was a fundamental drive against the institution as such and it was outlawed by putting it under the ban of law, domestic and international, a law that made its exercise a public crime.

In every case where such an outworn institution has been so outlawed, the institution has perished from the life of the world, and history has further shown that where moral public sentiment condemns an institution as inimical to society, its effective mode of procedure is to crystallize this moral sentiment into public law. For whatever may be said for or against laws in general, it is impossible to destroy these harmful institutions without the aid of law. This is the experience and product of Anglo-Saxon civilization.

Based upon historic facts and the consequent world need of destroying the deeply entrenched war system, the advocates of Outlawry have begun an educational campaign, first in America and now in other countries, to create a body of public opinion that will uproot the traditional attitude toward war, that will look upon war as

the murderer of the youths of the nations, as the poison in the cup of goodwill between the nations, as the harbinger of pestilence and famine, the suicide of industry, the paralysis of commerce, and the common enemy and oppressor of the human race. As soon as the public mind gets that uncompromisable attitude toward war, then and only then can we be liberated from the thralldom of the sword.

Outlawry demands a treaty to be signed by all civilized nations as the corner stone of the new international law of peace, which shall provide that hereafter no international controversy of any kind or character, existing or hereafter arising, shall be settled or attempted to be settled by force of arms. Better a million times that a dispute go unsettled than that the nations should attempt to settle it by the destructive and inhuman decision of war. Nor does this in any way involve the question of self-defense. The right of self-defense is neither involved nor affected by the new law and the new treaty abolishing the institution of war for the settlement of international controversies, just as the legal institution of dueling was abolished without affecting the right of an individual to defend himself against attack.

The advocates of Outlawry believe that war is such a monster that it cannot be controlled or regulated and therefore must be destroyed root and branch; that it is not possible for them to temporize or compromise with the institution of war through halfway measures that are ropes of sand, like "cooling-off periods," good offices, mediation, voluntary arbitration—no more possible than it would have been to interest Wendell Phillips or Lloyd Garrison in the Wilmot Proviso or the Missouri Compromise. For these men were not interested in ameliorating slavery or in limiting slavery here and there; they were intent upon overthrowing the whole system of slavery and they dared the faith that it could be overthrown. I doubt if it was a lesser adventure in faith in 1832 that we could liberate America from the slave system in our domestic life, controlling as it then did, Congress in both Houses, the White House, and the Supreme Court, than to believe in 1926 that we can outlaw the outworn and fatal institution of war. But however difficult the task, this particular group believes that the overthrow of the war system is the great heritage of the World War to this generation and that we will be "accessories before the fact" to the "crime" of the next war unless our inherited

duty is fulfilled. We will not compromise with the demon War; its death knell must be sounded. We are committed to this crusade with a commission that we believe is in harmony with the teachings of Isaiah and the precious words of Christ against the use of the sword; and we reject as cruelly futile all plans for peace based upon military alliances or other forms of combined force. War is therefore not only in conflict with the gospel, but has become so futile that victors and vanquished share a common miserable fate.

It is important to avoid the common error of misunderstanding genuine Outlawry. We do not seek to outlaw war by example. We contend for a general agreement among the nations whereby the use of war as arbiter of international disputes will be condemned and banished from the sphere of international relations. We realize that war is now a recognized legal method of "settling disputes" and to resist it is to put ourselves under the ban of law. We seek, not by way of resistance, however, to repeal this war-law, but by an international treaty of real peace, and thereby put the militarists themselves, where they morally belong, under the ban of law. We believe that the overwhelming majority of civilized people everywhere want to be rid of the burden

and agony of war. This is public sentiment. But public sentiment can only be made effective by the fulcrum of the law. For law is and ought always to be the expression of sound public opinion. Thus, in place of outlawry being the last phase of a slow evolutionary process of war-extermination, it is the first and indispensable prerequisite to *any* plan for durable world peace. Our motto is: Delegalize war first. Thus we would destroy its institutional status and it would automatically sink to the low level of piracy.

The foregoing suggests one of the many fallacies that have crept into war and peace thinking. It is contended that war cannot be abolished until the causes of war have been removed—using medical and other analogies to bolster up the argument. Now the history of the abolition of social menaces has never proceeded and never can proceed upon that basis. The institution of dueling, for example, was outlawed without removing a single cause of dueling. Can anyone suggest any cause of dueling that existed prior to its abolition that does not exist in full force to-day? So with slavery. Just as many persons as ever before would like to get human labor to-day without paying for it, but, notwithstanding that fact, there is no slavery in those nations where

the institution has been outlawed and its exercise made a public crime.

It is, of course, obvious that there will continue to be disputes and controversies among the nations of the world, and probably as long as there is a rise and fall in the genius and adventure of nations, increase and decay of populations, new discoveries of natural resources, and new lines of international commerce there will be international questions that will have to be settled somewhere.

Now the genius of civilization has discovered two and only two methods for *compelling* the settlement of human disputes in the whole history of the human race; one, force—assault between individuals, war between nations, and the other, public law and the decree of duly constituted courts.

The advocates of Outlawry condemn as both barbarous and futile the use of war in international controversies and build their peace structure on the foundation of an international code of the laws of peace from which the institution of war is banished forever. The code will be based upon the outlawing of war, the equality of all nations great and small before the law and the court, and the development and assembling of

equitable provisions in the code for the guidance of the court in administering international justice. This court is to have inherent and affirmative jurisdiction of all international questions, as enumerated in the code or covered by treaties, and will have the power at the suit of one nation to issue and serve a summons on another nation, and to hear and decide the controversy between them in precisely the same way as our Federal Supreme Court hears and decides controversies between our sovereign states. But so long as war remains legal and available, an appeal to arms could legally supersede the decision of the Court and thus render its jurisdiction futile.

The advocates of Outlawry contend as a general principle of international relations that all schemes, agreements and plans for peace or for war depend in their essence upon the faith of the plighted word. This is true of the League of Nations, of military alliances and protocols, and of all treaties. We insist that the plighted word for peace should be as much respected and much more easily kept than the plighted word for war. We maintain that the agreement for peace by common consent of the nations will be the greatest and only effective "security" against war. For once civilization gets war off the track, it

will be impossible to put it back on again. Difficult as the work seems to be to get rid of war, it will be vastly harder to restore war to its present status, once it has been outlawed by a general treaty among the nations.

And again I would emphasize the serious danger of compromise. We must look the war problem straight in the face, execute a frontal attack upon it, and annihilate the entire war system. To this end let us here and now dedicate ourselves, and unified by the nexus of a vital principle, sink our other difference into oblivion and together witness the victory of the Christian spirit over the paganism of war.

Note. For further information, printed matter, etc., write to The American Committee for the Outlawry of War, 134 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.

CHAPTER IX

WORLD UNITY THROUGH ORGANIZED SERVICE

By Mrs. Edgerton Parsons

A chapter heading "World Unity through Organized Service" imposes at least two responsibilities on both writer and reader thereof: First, an investigation, a delving into the meaning of the title, and, second, a survey of all its applications, implications, and its actualities. No better field for the sort of mental digging needed is to be found than the school-day resource, the dictionary, and therein one finds that the word "world" itself is an original compound, whose elements later merged into one, and are lost from view, a prophecy of the actual, scientific, and spiritual fact for which the word stands. To quote the dictionary, the *world* is "the inhabitants of the earth and their concerns and interests." The dictionary, to change the figure, is a mine, and the second nugget found is *unity*, "the interconnection of parts which constitute a complex whole,"—"harmony or accord in sentiments, affection, action, concord."

"Organized," that splendid word descended from the august Latin *organum,* through our English noun *organ,*—"that which performs some office, duty, or function,—by which some end is accomplished," to that pregnant verb *organize,* commonly in the past participle,—"to construct, so as to exhibit or subserve vital processes, . . . to form a whole, consisting of interdependent parts." The last bit of precious metal in the title is the word "service,"—"an advantage conferred, a benefit or good performed, done, or caused." And we have a title, rich, prismatic in its light. "The concord of the concerns of the inhabitants of the earth achieved by the good done through the vital process of forming a whole consisting of interdependent parts."

Organized service for world unity is not yet achieved, and the day is probably distant when it will be complete and perfect, but many groups of men and women have fashioned instruments which are functioning to this end in various fields. Some of them have been conceived through a vision of their potential beneficence, others through the realization of the penalty attached to their absence. To the first belong the social agencies, like the International Red Cross, or the International Institute of Agriculture; to

the latter, the International Postal Union—or the International Chamber of Commerce. Every international organization is, by very virtue of its being international, an instrument in fashioning world unity. The instant that an individual or a group of individuals looks over and beyond national boundaries, so fantastically high this last century and a half, whether in self-interest or in altruism, at that moment is begun the making of another tool to mold the interests and concerns of the inhabitants of the earth to accord. Not all these tools are efficient agencies; some are blunt, some too sharp, some have turned in the hand and some are too frail to make but a faint mark. But all—all are instruments of the same purpose, inherent even if unrecognized,—to carve to-morrow's reality from to-day's ideality.

To enumerate even the names of existing international organizations for service would exceed the limits of this chapter. The city directory of Geneva, Switzerland, alone, contains forty-five of them, including the greatest of all—the League of Nations, a dream almost antedating nationalism itself, come true. Other cities, other capitals, are distinguished by the presence in their midst of important international institutions. The Hague has the Permanent Court of International

Justice; Rome, the historic church and the International Institute of Agriculture; Paris, the Institute of Intellectual Coöperation. The scientists, the scholars, the educators have their world organizations for their services; they, above others, being sensitively aware that knowledge is increased by being shared, just as the church organizations in sharing their faith have increased it. Capital, with an International Chamber of Commerce and an International Association of Bankers, is balanced by labor, with an International Labor Office and world-circling organizations of workers. Between them, they have not crowded out a World Union of the Middle Class.

Religious organizations, others for welfare, health, and social service, have made practical their realization that the nations and the peoples of the earth are members one of another, and have thrown their life lines, joined, around the globe. Women, as women, became early conscious of their solidarity through identity of function and in equality of status and established two world-wide organizations,—the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, and the International Council of Women. There is now an International Federation of University Women.

Contemporary genius is promoting an interna-

tional radio service, as other services have already been organized; and it may be that this will bring into use that invention of an earlier genius—the exile, Zamenoff—who created a universal language of hope, to establish peace and understanding between peoples of different tongues.

There are not too many international organizations. There could not be. There are too few. When every phase of life and development in every nation relates itself to the corresponding phase in every other nation, and makes the relation alive and vital by recognition, by sympathy, and by organization, then will world unity be manifest.

Nowadays it is increasingly true that every citizen of every country is a citizen of the world. Take our average citizen, the resident of a small city in the interior of the country, as an example. He is the father of three children, earning several thousand dollars a year as an office employee in the local industry; his wife, the mother of the three children, is the homemaker, who does the household work herself, and drives the modest car of the family. They are, involuntarily, far more international than they know; so much of what they use, eat, and wear is produced or manufactured outside their own country; the rubber

for the motor tires, the lead pencils, the bananas and chocolates for the children, the wool, the silk, the fiber silk. So on through a long list. They know that the local newspaper prints news of happenings in foreign lands, and when the conditions are good, they can hear on their own radio dance music from a foreign land. All these and many other trifling things make up a sum total of world contacts of which the average citizen is scarcely conscious.

But Mr. Average Citizen is a member of a business club, which is part of an international organization. As he hears and reads occasionally about the foreign branches, there is built up in his mind a friendliness for the men in the foreign group—"they are good fellows." A tolerance for their country grows in him. To that extent, he becomes internationally minded. Mrs. Average Citizen, who was one of the town's best workers for Woman Suffrage, is interested in the distant and fascinating countries which seem so glamorous, but where women do not yet vote; and she is sympathetic and patient in her thought of them, and vitally interested in their progress. Their church is sending a representative to a great religious conference abroad this year, and they are both glad that the representative chosen

is a good speaker, who can relate the events of the conference so that they too will feel themselves a part of it. Spiritually and religiously they feel their kinship with fellow church people overseas.

The children of this couple have their international contacts too; one is corresponding with a Rumanian child through the Junior Red Cross; another has an intimate friend in school, the French orphan adopted by kindly folk during the war; and the third, the eldest in high school, has entered a competition of which the prize is a trip abroad. Back and behind all these voluntary and involuntary international contacts is organized service, organized to serve trade, to serve women, to serve men, to serve international friendship and acquaintance.

Practically every citizen may participate and have a more or less active share in these other agencies of international friendship, first simply by taking cognizance of their existence, and then by seeking information and membership in the organizations furthering them.

These agencies will be multiplied in number many times as understanding of them grows, and their efficiency and effectiveness be increased many times as they represent the willed intention

for service of the million of members around the world.

The paying of dues, however trifling, to an organization with an international extension, gives to the individual a vested interest in the service (and vested interests are without prejudice in themselves) in some aspect of world friendship. To come back to the title, World Unity through Organized Service is the concord of the concerns of the inhabitants of the earth, achieved by the good done through the vital process of forming a whole consisting of interdependent parts.

When that is complete—encompassing; when it touches every nation; when it includes every aspect of progress, the interest of all citizens, the magnifying and multiplying of every organized service; then this old world shall have achieved a unity—which means peace, and an approximation of the vision of the apocalypse—a new heaven and a new earth.

CHAPTER X

WORLD UNITY THROUGH ORGANIZED EDUCATION

By Lynn Harold Hough

Tennyson Turner once wrote a sonnet entitled "Letty's Globe" in which he described a tiny girl holding the whole round world in her hands, who "hid all England with a kiss while over Europe fell her golden hair." There is something haunting about the suggestion of a child living through happy hours with the world as a playmate, making friends with the continents, and making love to one land, the dearest of all because it is her own. It is probably true that children must play with the world if, as grown men and women, they are to live for it. World unity must be a state of mind before it can become a state of fact; play and work, study and dreaming must all be built about the thoughts of a planet of friendly people if the great hope is to be realized at last. The mind must be a tapestry whose very threads are woven into the bright picture of the family of mankind.

We may consider first of all the objectives in that education for world unity which will produce a mind capable of the most profound relation to the whole human family. The very beginning of course is a knowledge of the history of the human adventure. We must think of human life as a totality before we are capable of the most understanding or fruitful relation to it. And in order to think in this fashion we must know the whole human story. Ignorance is the mother of hostility. If knowing all does not mean forgiving all, at least it does mean a new and sympathetic understanding. A man cannot be even an intelligent foe if he does not understand the mind of the one whom he is fighting. There has been some genuine comprehension of this necessity to see every bit of life as a part of the whole, in the days which lie just back of us. Mr. H. G. Wells wrote his widely discussed and almost as widely read "Outline of History" with the hope of making it possible for no end of men and women to see their own lives and the life of their nation against the background of the whole human story. And a right vivid and keen-minded piece of work it was which came from the pen of Mr. Wells. It is easily one of the ablest, as it is surely the longest, of the great

series of tracts for the times, which men have written to influence public opinion. In this useful bit of writing many things are said with great wisdom and everything is said with a bright clear energy. But as a matter of fact Mr. Wells himself does not know the story he tried to tell. He knows parts of it. He understands certain of its aspects. But there are times, as in his discussion of Fifth Century Athens, when he leaves out pretty much everything which is really typical and defining. The "Outline of History" may serve a real purpose in setting a man on his way. But he will not go very far unless he continues beyond this book. Before Mr. Wells had set about writing the "Outline" a man of large and generous erudition and of that capacity for brooding quiet thought out of which comes genuine insight, had written a little book which, in a very fruitful sense, is an interpretation of the human story. Mr. F. S. Marvin's "The Living Past" should be read and reread by every student of the forces which lie back of the present human scene. One may follow this reading by such practical books as Professor Breasted's "Ancient Times" and Professor Robinson's "Medieval and Modern Times" and so begin to have a conception of the long and marvelous tale of man's life

in the world. It is not simply a matter of reading. It is a matter of thinking and feeling. A man must work his way again and again through the whole story with imagination quick, with mind kindled, and with every power of appreciation eager and responsive. The ages will begin to speak to this age just as soon as a man begins to see the life of to-day in the light of this great background. When he sees that it required the whole human adventure to make him what he is, he will commence to understand how impossible it is to isolate any man or any nation from that vast movement. He will begin to be a citizen of the whole world.

This sort of thing begets an appetite as one goes on. So books will pile upon books and every time one goes over the long tale it will become more fascinating and its meaning will be seen from new angles of vision. Broad knowledge of the whole story will lead on to an eager study of the history of the various groups. There are, of course, numbers of people who have come to a new knowledge of the fundamental matters which have to do with the life of England through reading and rereading Greene's "Short History of the English People." And as such reading is made the basis for long and

brooding thought, there arises in the mind, at last, quite a new sort of understanding of the life of a great people. Henderson's "History of Germany" will perform a service much needed among men and women who must learn to think of the Teutonic peoples quite apart from preoccupation with the events of the last fifteen years. Every land has its own individual quality and the study of its history is basal in understanding that quality. Every fundamental group has its own history and it is just as one learns to appreciate and appropriate these meanings that he becomes really capable of understanding world citizenship.

One of the remarkable things about the life of mankind is the fashion in which particular groups work out a culture which is almost like a living organism, so individual, so distinctive, and so productive does it become. The world citizen must not only know of these cultures but he must be able to enter into their meaning and quality. When Matthew Arnold died, someone said, "There goes our last Greek." Of course that was not true. In our Western civilization Greeks may come and Greeks may go, but the spirit of Attica goes on forever. Indeed it is scarcely too much to say that a civilized man is

one who understands the contribution of Greece to the life of the world. Many have begun to enter into this heritage by means of such a volume as Professor Butcher's "Some Aspects of the Greek Genius" or "The Legacy of Greece" which that fine Oxford scholar, Mr. Livingstone, has edited in such effective fashion. The man who is not himself able to spend years reading Greek masterpieces in the original, can, at least, allow some of the minds which have been profoundly influenced by Hellas to interpret to him the seminal spirit which has flung its power so far over the life of mankind. It is quite idle to attempt to understand the mind of modern France or that of Germany or of England without apprehending the meaning of the mind of Greece. And the common roots hold even in bitter and difficult days. When a man is living in these regions he is sharing an experience with the highly trained minds in every great nation of the modern world. It is the mints of Greece which have stamped the currency of the intellectual life of the whole Western civilization.

Many periods and many races have produced something worthy of being called a culture of their own. And whenever we enter into the meaning of any of these we are coming nearer

to an adequate and understanding citizenship in the life of the whole world. Just now a new type of culture is being worked out, based upon the discoveries and achievements of modern science. In its own fashion in our day, science—physical and biological—is making the whole world one. The man who makes his own the sanctions of this scientific culture as they develop, is in that very act coming nearer to men of disciplined knowledge all over the world.

To understand the mind of the world is a great step toward participation in the family life of mankind. Another step is taken when we begin to understand the soul of the world. And this involves a friendly study of the world's living religions. The deepest motives which drive men in love and hate, in joy and sorrow, are found in the realm of religion. If you understand what religion means to a great spirit you have entered into the very citadel of his personality. And when you know the characteristic quality and potency of the great religions of the world you have become capable of a new sort of world citizenship. It is fortunate that to-day more than ever before it is possible to secure definite and dependable and sympathetic knowledge of the great religions which sway the hearts of man-

kind. To come even in a small way to know how it feels to be a follower of Mohammed, a learner in the school of Confucius, or a devoted disciple of Gautama is to be able to touch every moral and intellectual and spiritual and social and political experience of the modern world in quite a new way.

Professor Hume's thoughtful study of the world's living religions will make a good beginning. Here a man will find carefully classified materials brought over from the sources and he will begin to feel the distinctive quality of the mighty and masterful religions of the world. Professor Soper's book, "The Religions of Mankind," with its clear movement and its sympathetic attitude will render its own service. And so the reader will continue until he begins to use the great documents for himself. And best of all he will have hours of flashing sympathy when he understands why each religion has made its great appeal to some section of the human race. Here again the brooding friendly thought is quite as important as the reading. When you come to know how a devotee of another religion feels when he prays, you have become his brother. To follow Prince Gautama through the experience under the Bow Tree is to enter the secret

places in the lives of millions of men of other lands and of other races. And in such an hour a man sees quite plainly the difference between a vague and poorly informed goodwill and an enlightened and understanding sympathy.

The man who attains to large and adequate world citizenship will be a man who spends patient and happy hours over the great masterpieces of the world's literature. To know Dante is to come to quite a new apprehension of the deeper meanings of the life of a very gifted people. It is also to come into a new fellowship with the Latin spirit. Not merely the Middle Ages does one find set to music in the Divine Comedy, but the moral life of man as seen by a great mind working with the materials furnished by a powerful conscience. The discipline involved in becoming master of the large areas of history which form the essential background of the enjoyment of Dante's great poem is in itself the very best sort of preparation for a larger participation in the life of the mind of the whole world. And the appreciation of the passion for a holiness shot through with beauty will itself draw the reader into larger relations with that passionate aspiration which transcends race and language and cultural groups.

The reading of the Essays of Sainte-Beuve makes a man of another nation capable of understanding France as he has never understood that great nation before. As you read one of the memorable portraits of the great essayist suddenly you stop and draw your breath sharply. For along the lines of trailing suggestion of some luminous phrase you have seen straight into the mind and sometimes into the heart of France.

It will not be a long step from the study of great literature to the study of epoch-making philosophy. And the man who has come to know the real meaning of Kant and Hegel—to use but two illustrations—can never think ignobly of Germany again. The moral apprehension and the speculative power of Kant, the amazing fertility of the synthetic philosophy of Hegel, will make him forever a debtor to the German mind. And as these things become more and more an essential part of his own intellectual equipment his sense of debt will deepen.

The knowledge of ideas becomes heartily human as we move on, from its rich values to the knowledge of people. And now we must say in the most emphatic manner possible that the man who would be a world citizen must be a reader of the biographies of the real leaders of

all the races and nations of the world. There is a sense in which biography is the best door through which to pass if one would enter into the larger life of mankind. One illustration will suffice. The American who reads the brilliant and graphic life of Wilberforce by Mr. Coupland will not only meet the younger Pitt in quite a new way; and see the whole Napoleonic period from a new angle; and apprehend the quality of evangelical religion as a social inspiration in a fashion almost bewildering; and feel the tidal movement of moral passion which beats down the mighty forces which supported the slave trade as a veritable living energy, he will also quite unconsciously enter more deeply all the while into the moral life of the whole of mankind. And as the reading of the biographies of great leaders among national and racial and religious groups becomes a habit, whole areas of human life will come within reach of the sympathetic and exploring mind.

It is necessary, too, that the fashion in which modern nations have learned to work together and do work together should be clearly understood by the man who aspires to world citizenship. The tale especially of the relations involved in international diplomacy should be well

known and clearly understood. Professor Gibbon's able but cynical "Introduction to World Politics" will be useful; and Professor Dutcher's "Awakening of the Near East," with its careful gathering of facts and its quiet friendliness of spirit, will make a definite contribution. All this is to be viewed in connection with the great body of knowledge gathered from fields we have already discussed. World politics must be seen as a part of a very much larger experience if seen with true understanding.

The history of the growth of the will to peace among men should be a subject of the most careful study. Mr. Marvin, of whom we have already spoken, has made us all his debtors by his editing of the Unity series, of which the volume on "The Evolution of World Peace" is particularly significant.

From the time of Dante's "De Monarchia" men of the West have been dreaming of the great society. And in our own time that dream has been filled with new moral and spiritual meaning. The reading of the essays and fiction, of the poetry and drama which express the deeper life of our own time means all the while some new and illuminating contact with the hope of a world made one in moral and spiritual friendli-

ness. It is especially true that the light which shines from the New Testament is more and more clearly seen to make plain the way of duty for a world of men, as well as for a struggling individual. The passion for peace has become a profound and guiding motive in the Christian church. All that yeast of vital energy in Christian lands and in other lands has its own meaning for the man who would share the great dreams of all watchers of the night skies who are looking for the dawn of a new day for all mankind. And all fiction and poetry which make real to us the human appeal and the deep common body of experience, unite widely separated men and women and add to the fire which burns in our own hearts as we enter into the corporate life of humanity itself.

It is clearly along these varied and fascinating lines that men can be educated for world citizenship. And now it remains our task to say something of the technique and method of this education. Benjamin Kidd, near the end of his life, wrote a powerful little book, "The Science of Power," in which he put with immense cogency the appeal for education of a sort which will insure world peace. And in his own bright and telling way Mr. H. G. Wells has put the matter

in a very significant little book, "The Salvaging of Civilization." The power of a common psychology secured through a common education, and the meaning of a great community of mind secured through participation in a certain fruitful body of knowledge has been made evident enough in these books.

One must say very definitely that all students in colleges of liberal arts should be encouraged to elect many courses in history and in the literature of various nations. Every step in disciplined thought as to the fashion in which men have lived and achieved has its own great value. It is also true that institutions of learning should offer many more courses of general introduction to the life and character of nations and races and of particular periods in the life of the world. The college should make the training for world citizenship a definite objective. The public press is after all the most powerful means of popular education, and every possible means should be used to enlist the press as a constant and sympathetic teacher in matters of sympathy and friendliness for the life of the entire world. It is probably true, however, that only as millions of men and women become readers along the lines we have already suggested that the league of friendly

minds will become, first a possibility, and then an actual achievement. The task of producing a nation of readers in constant training for world citizenship is indeed one of tremendous proportions. But it is not an impossible task. Each reader must become a propagandist of the idea and the practice, and so the movement will quietly yet potently spread about the land.

The question to which all of this discussion leads is suggested in the title of this chapter. Should there not be an organized and nation-wide effort to induce men to enter upon the reading which is fundamental in the building up of world citizenship? Should not courses be worked out and brought within the reach of everyday men and women throughout the land? Should not every meeting and every conference for the furtherance of international goodwill include an opportunity to enroll as one of the nation of readers which is so essential if we are ever to understand and to coöperate with men all over the world? Is not the next step in the peace movement just this organization for training men and women upon the largest lines for citizenship in the Great Society?

CHAPTER XI

WORLD UNITY THROUGH ORGANIZED RELIGION

By William Pierson Merrill

No sentiment is more frequently expressed, nor does any meet with more hearty and general applause, than the statement that, in the last analysis, religion holds the hope of world peace and world unity. It is not only churchmen who say it, nor is it only in gatherings of churchmen that it is warmly greeted. We come upon it in strange and unexpected places. We read it in newspapers and magazines. We hear it from business men and political leaders. We are reminded of it by captains and generals. The President says it again and again, and almost the whole country applauds. It has come to be a commonplace.

The painfully significant fact in all this is the easy complacency and pride in which church folk listen to such statements. They take them as compliments to the church. One can almost see them turning to one another, and smiling in

a way which plainly says, "Aha: You see how important we are, how indispensable."

A compliment to the church? Why, had we eyes to see facts, we would be shocked, terrified, ready to protest, every time anyone gave utterance to this remark, which is fast becoming a platitude,—that the best hope of world unity and peace is in religion. For in our hearts we would have to go on, under the spur of conscience, and make the statement run thus: "Religion alone can do it; and *religion isn't doing it.*" It would summon us to repentance, it would fill our hearts with shame and a kind of dread, it would drive us to God, if we really believed this remark, so readily spoken, so complacently accepted. What an awful responsibility to have loaded on one institution, the church, the major part of the burden of the world's disunity and strife! If religion is the ultimate hope, in God's name let us get busy about His business.

There are but two courses open to us of the churches in the face of this common conviction. We can either deny it, repel it, refuse to accept it as true; or we can accept it as Jesus took the cup in Gethsemane and the cross on Calvary, as an inescapable responsibility, a high honor to be

guarded if necessary by the loss of all else, a solemn challenge that can be met only as we say: "Lo, we come to do Thy will, O God."

Nothing worse could happen to the church than to take such a sentiment and judgment lightly, jauntily. Nothing better could come to the church than to take such a judgment seriously, in the name and spirit of our Lord. If once the church of God, in all its parts, under its varying names, throughout the world, shall give itself without stint to this mission of bringing peace and maintaining unity, at any sacrifice of lesser things, not only will world peace and world unity draw near, but a world which too readily scorns religion and its institutions will look at the church and admit with humble reverence that God is in the midst of her.

It is a simple fact that the church has certain advantages possessed by no other organization in working toward the peace and unity of the world. Let us not stop to question or debate as to the precise definition of that phrase, "the church." Take it to mean religion in any and all of its forms. Give it such definition as you please, so long as you mean by it that organized religious institution, force, movement, which you honestly believe God has put here for the ac-

complishment of His purposes for the religious life and development of man. As the soldiers in the trenches at Sebastopol recalled, each a "different name, but all sang 'Annie Laurie,'" so let each of us recall a different name, if we will, as we sing together,

> "Oh, where are kings and empires now,
> Of old that went and came?
> But, Lord, Thy church is praying yet,
> A thousand years the same."

We shall see the matter more clearly if, while realizing the breadth and range of the problem, and granting freely, or even claiming strongly, that the Jew, the Mohammedan, the Hindu, and the rest, has each his part to play, we think and speak just now in terms of Christianity, and that in its simpler and more modern forms. What can organized Christianity do in our day, to foster the peace and unity of the world? Let each have in mind his own church, as he faces that question.

First look at some of the advantages. What are they? The church has a Loyalty, a Method, a Sanction, and a Power, of its own. It believes these are from God. The world of men, on the whole, stands ready to admit the claim, if the church "does the works."

1. It has a LOYALTY, an allegiance, which transcends the lesser loyalties, yet is not inconsistent with them. A real unity of spirit and of faith holds together all Christians everywhere. "Jesus Christ is the same" not only "yesterday and to-day and forever," but in East and West and North and South. Religion is one of the few realities or powers which, when real, pass national and racial and social boundaries as if they did not exist.

Where else on earth is there such an ideal, such an actual loyalty, old enough to have dignity, fresh enough to have power? Somehow it blends with all other loyalties, likely to be at once smaller and more intense. To be a Christian, to believe in God with a real living faith, will make one a better patriot at the same time that it impels him toward a true and strong internationalism. The merging of these two loyalties is seen in some lines written by one of the most patriotic of British leaders during the war:

"I vow to thee, my country, all earthly things above,
Entire and whole and perfect, the service of my love;
The love that asks no questions, the love that stands the test,
That lays upon the altar the dearest and the best;

The love that never falters, the love that pays the price,
The love that makes undaunted the final sacrifice.

And there's another country I've heard of long ago,
Most dear to them that love her, most great to them that know.
We may not count her armies, we may not see her King;
Her fortress is a faithful heart, her pride is suffering;
And soul by soul, and silently, her silent bounds increase,
And her ways are ways of gentleness, and all her paths are peace."

So wrote Cecil Spring-Rice just before his death in 1918. It is an incomparable advantage which religion holds, thus to be able to quicken and deepen one's natural loyalties, and at the same time to lift them all up and make them blend in one transcendent loyalty that tends to make mankind everywhere one; to unite those set apart and held apart by their lesser loyalties, when these are given full sway. It is one of the marvels and glories of religion that one can do the smallest and commonest acts "to the glory of God" and "in the name of the Lord Jesus," can sanctify and glorify all common and natural relationships in that name, and then can look out over the whole world, with a strong exultant

faith that "in the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, and every tongue confess that He is Lord, to the glory of God the Father"; and that "in Him all things hold together." Such a bond of loyalty is a tremendous asset in working for the peace and unity of the world.

2. Organized religion also has a METHOD, wrought into its very structure, a part of its being, which powerfully furthers its work as an agent of world unity and peace. Its simple, divinely ordained method is to bring people together, to take down walls or get people to climb over them. It is the method of an unlimited trust in man that is a necessary corollary of belief in God.

Religion has not always been in actual working a unifying force. Pitifully often it has stirred up division and strife, and afforded opportunity for the exercise of the fighting spirit. But in its ideal religion has always been a unifying force, and largely it has been such in actual working. The best Christians have ever felt the force of the facts so nobly stated in a fragmentary document from the second century of our era, that "Christians hold the world together, as the soul holds the body together." There is something about true religion, especially about

true Christianity, that will not let a man sit apart, but sends him out among his fellows, and away to distant shores, in a spirit that seeks the largest and widest possible unities.

3. Organized religion has a SANCTION such as no other institution possesses.

It claims to be from God, divinely appointed, divinely accredited; and large masses of men (one may venture to say men in general) accede more or less fully and readily to that claim of divine sanction. Men will listen to what the church says. True, they are impatient and scornful, and rightly so, when, as too often happens, the church makes solemn pronouncements on trivial matters, or echoes the voice of political conservatism, or attempts to shore up decaying and condemned structures with ecclesiastical imprimaturs, or speaks in pride and arrogance and self-seeking. But wherever the church bears witness to a great universal truth or duty, when it claims the sanction of God for the doing of brave and holy deeds, men are ready and eager to listen and to follow. The days of the crusades are not past. Let the church really call with passionate emphasis, with self-forgetful fervor, to a great and holy cause, and unbelievers will be confounded at the response from the heart of the average man. Cru-

sades are still possible, but now, as in the Middle Ages, only when religion furnishes the motive.

4. Once more religion has, or claims to have POWER such as no other institution, organization, or movement can have. "God is in the midst of her." Her Lord and Leader is one who says, "All power is given to me in heaven and earth; go ye therefore, and lo, I am with you." The very spirit of true Christianity is voiced in the confident cry, "I can do all things in Him that strengtheneth me." The smallest, weakest band of true followers of Christ ever hears Him saying, "Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom."

Some one may protest, "But you claim too much for the church. Of course the church asserts its possession of these immense advantages and assets; but we do not grant it." The sufficient answer is that we are speaking to the church, to organized religion, and to those who accept its claims as valid. After all, the overwhelming mass of people do profess to believe in the great functions and powers of organized religion. This alternative confronts religious folk: if the church does not possess these unique gifts, this loyalty, this sanction, this method, this power, then it is a humbug, a pretender, a

mere cumberer of the ground. It has no right to exist, still less any right to the respect of mankind. If it does possess these gifts, then in heaven's name let it prove that it has them by large, brave, noble use of them. When and where, in all its long history, has the church of Christ faced an opportunity greater than that afforded it just now, to prove that, in ideal, in method, in sanction, in resources, it is divine, through a demonstration "in spirit and in power" of capacity to bring the world to real unity and hold it in peace and goodwill? A leader of American business life wrote to me recently, "If the church cannot do this, nothing can. And I see little hope that the church will do it." Rise up, O Church of the Living God; meet the challenge at any cost!

What is in the way? What must organized religion do, and get rid of, and dare, in order to meet this rightful demand, that it prove its power, or get out of the way? Certain steps it must take, and it can. Here are some of them, as one man sees them:—

1. It Must Emphasize and Demonstrate Its Own Unity

A divided church cannot effectively call a divided world to unity. The answer will be hurled

back, "Physician, heal thyself!" This does not mean that the church must work out a unity of organization, still less a uniformity of thought and practice. The "varieties of religious experience" are assets we must not surrender. But the church is not calling the world to organizational unity, to a single world-state. God forbid! We want a unity that shall leave room for all normal varieties of nation and race and culture, a unity of spirit rather than of form. That sort of unity the church must seek and win for itself, before it can successfully call the world to get together and be one.

The church must get rid of the sectarianism, of the competitive and exclusive denominationalism, of the exaggerated pride in small differences, of the provincial glorying in peculiarities of doctrine, order, and practice, that now disfigure it. Every division of the church must learn to care less for that which sets it off from others, and more for that in which all are instinctively one. Everyone who works and sacrifices in the cause of such real religious unity helps to bring the church to a position where it can rebuke the world for its sinful divisions, and call it in the name of God to a real unity. A church at war within itself cannot speak peace to the nations.

It cannot even be the organ through which the Prince of Peace can speak with authority.

2. It Must Learn to Take Itself Less Seriously, Its Mission More Seriously

The church on the whole has been and is too much concerned about itself, too little about its mission. It must learn to think less of itself as an institution with divine sanctions and prerogatives; more of itself as a movement with a mission. It must keep itself pure, of course. But it should remember that "running water purifies itself."

Creeds, orders, traditions, these are valuable, immensely valuable, if regarded and used as means to a great end. They are nothing short of a curse and a blight if they are viewed as ends, for the maintenance and defense of which the church is set. If the church, or any part of it, would prove that its creed, its ministry, its sacraments, are divine, let it demonstrate their power to *make a difference* in the lives of men and in the life of man. There is no other evidence that counts. Jesus appealed to no other. Call this "pragmatism" if you will. You cannot damn a truth by pasting a label on it.

The church claims to be the "body of Christ."

A great and holy distinction. But note that Christ never said a word about His body, except as something to be used, and spent, and broken. The church which stands before men in the attitude of saying, "I am the body of Christ; therefore treat me with reverence," refutes its own high claim. The church which takes the position, "I am the body of Christ; and therefore I am to be used, broken; my creeds, my orders, my claims, everything, are only to further the life of God in the soul and society of man, whether it be by life or by death," will prove its claim. The church must make itself never an end, always a means.

3. The church must Make Larger and Stronger Use of Its Simple, Divinely Ordained Method

Its method is that of bringing men together. Centrifugal forces are powerful and make for war. True religion is a centripetal force, we may venture to say the greatest centripetal force.

There is a lamentable profusion of forces and movements tending to hold men apart. And the more they hold apart, the more surely will ill will grow from misunderstanding, and hate from ill will, and war from hate. It is somebody's su-

preme business to bring men together; to make paths through the jungles, to open doors and gates, to disarm minds and hearts, to uproot suspicion and hate and cultivate goodwill and love. If that is not the business of the church, what business has the church on earth? St. Paul saw the true way to unity and peace when he said that Jesus "broke down the middle wall of partition, of the two making one new man, so making peace." The amazing influence of Christianity in its early years sprang largely from the fact that it dared assert that "in Christ Jesus there is no longer Greek or Jew, barbarian or Scythian, bondman or freeman, but all are one." That did not mean the immediate wiping out of distinctions. Paul said also that "there is no male or female," but, thank God, men and women are not exactly alike, and never will be. Christianity wisely ignored distinctions, even evil and baseless ones, treated them as if they were unreal; and by and by they rotted away, so far as Christians were real Christians.

On the whole, religious folk are ready to believe in man, to get men together in confidence that they will agree. The true explanation of the indubitable fact that the religious folk of America were, on the whole, for the League of

Nations, when it came as a simple unconfused issue, is that religious folk instinctively trust anything that means getting people together.

The world needs some agency, some group, some institution, that will see it as part of its supreme mission to get people together, and keep getting them together, anyhow, anywhere, in the simple trust that once men know each other, they will be more inclined to respect and like each other. Again we ask, What agency can do this more naturally, more successfully than the church?

The world is all too ready to quote Kipling's lines,

> "For East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,"

as if they voiced a final judgment of fact, forgetting how the same poet goes on,

> "But there is neither East nor West, border, nor breed, nor birth,
> When two strong men stand face to face, though they come from the ends of the earth,"

It is part, a great part, a Christly part, of the divine mission of the church, to bring strong men and women, sincere men and women, from the ends of the earth, from different classes and

groups, from opposing races and nations and cultures, and set them face to face, that they may, through knowing one another, come to respect and like one another.

It may be wasting time to quarrel with a phrase. Yet one feels that "Building the Bulwarks against War" is not the happiest way of stating the task. Our business is not building bulwarks, but pulling them down. In truth, our business could hardly be better stated than to say that it is *substituting boulevards for bulwarks.* Even Rome, the great military world-power, owed more to roads than to walls. How many of us realize that the two words, "bulwarks" and "boulevards," have the same root? The Century Dictionary defines a "boulevard" as "a public walk or road occupying the site of demolished fortifications." It is the business of the church to lay boulevards where walls once were, to open roads between minds and souls, and races and nations, the world over.

Here is seen the immense value of the World Alliance for International Friendship, and similar movements. Far more important than any action they take, any resolutions they adopt, any program they set forth, is their work in bringing together about a common table, on a com-

mon platform, in real human communion, religious folk from every kindred, tribe, nation, and denomination, that they may see one another face to face, and come to recognize their close kinship as children of one Father, members of one family.

4. The sum of all is that the church must have A Deep-seated and Far-going Faith that the Christian Way is Practicable, and must be ready to go to the limit in taking that way and getting others to take it.

The worst doubt that has ever come into Christendom is the doubt that Jesus knew what He was talking about, and meant what He said. We have been too content to admire and adore Him without obeying Him. It is not that we have exalted His person too much; that, to many of us, would be quite impossible; but we have forgotten the obvious fact that to exalt His person has, as inevitable practical consequence, the deepening of our obligation to do as He says, to respect His judgments and commands. The business of the church is to "prepare the way of the Lord," to "make His paths straight"; and it can do that only in so far as it takes the way of the Lord itself, no matter what the consequence.

The world will follow the church all the way along the path to unity and peace, if it sees that the church is following Christ. Nothing is more sure than that. But so long as the church is content with its divisions, holds to its inherited pettinesses, is set on maintaining its prerogatives and its prestige, clings to its creeds and orders and forms as if they were the end of its existence rather than means to its real end and mission, so long will the church be plainly unequal to its task and unworthy of its God. The power of God cannot act through selfishness, individual or corporate, commercial or ecclesiastical.

But once let the church catch a vision of a world at peace, dominated by goodwill, love enthroned and war outlawed; once let the church believe with all its heart that these things can be; once let the church heed the voice of Christ above every other voice; once let the church hold to its creeds, and orders, and forms, and the rest, as the color-sergeant clings to his flag, as something dearer than life, yet dear not in itself but as a symbol of loyalty and a means to victory; and the church will at last stand before the world glorious as an army with banners, and wholly adequate to its divinely appointed task.

Let everyone who loves and believes in the church set himself at any cost to fostering in the church such a spirit of utter devotion to the end Christ sets before us. Above every other voice let Christians heed the voice of the Master, asking down through the ages, "Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things that I say?" And let all who name His name, and own His faith, rise up with a mighty vow that, by the grace of God, the reproach of that question shall at last be put away, and that men shall at last see the church a real body of Christ, here only to do His will, ready to do anything, to be nothing, if only what Christ says may be done, if only the Kingdom of God may come, and the will of God be done on earth as it is in the heavens, the kingdoms and republics and nations and races of the earth at last moving and working together in that perfect unity and harmony that mark the courses of the stars in the heavens.

PART IV

STOPPING "THE NEXT WAR"

CHAPTER XII

THE ESSENTIAL RELIGIOUS BASIS

By Archbishop Keane

A world peace guaranteed by international agreement and supported by valid sanctions had been an ideal and a hope of the civilized world long before the Great War came to test and to strain every resource of the fairest form of civilization known to history. It was the dream of the assembled kings at the Congress of Vienna after the Napoleonic Wars. It survived the solemn futilities of The Hague to appeal as an imminent necessity to the accredited representatives of the nations assembled at Versailles in 1918.

It was confidently expected that, since evil is not without alleviation, a war unprecedented in history for senseless and useless destruction, a war which added carefully planned frightfulness to the other features of cruelty, should be followed by a peace unlike any other in its provisions for security; a peace which should end absolutely the misuse of government, close an era

of political intrigue and make the world safe for democracy; a peace which should open the way to great and beautiful reconcilements and make glorious conquests for the spirit of brotherhood.

The program which the fortunes of war placed before the plenipotentiaries at Versailles involved almost superhuman difficulties, but it was most inspiring in its one vital feature. True, the time, following so closely upon the war, was not favorable to accurate discernment or calm judgment. The skies were still clouded with the smoke of battle. Men's souls were agonizing from a sense of intolerable wrong or bitter disillusionment. The political legerdemain of cynical opportunists and the selfish interests which had wrecked so many peace conferences, pressed for consideration and confused the really vital issue. The peace for which the suffering multitudes prayed had but one truly disinterested advocate in that Council, and he a broken man.

As the war recedes into a retrospect of years, its reproofs and warnings are burning deeper into the souls of men; its lessons are seen in clearer outline and a generation afflicted by untold sufferings, and bowed down by sorrow over the uncounted victims of barbaric strife, demand a better security for the generations to come than

has yet been provided. Popular revulsion against any appeal to brute force for the composition of misunderstandings between reasonable men or communities of men is forcing such war-provoking figments as competition in armaments, balance of power, and national alignments into the grave of discredited pretenses. Public opinion is freeing itself from militarist traditions and the people are realizing more and more that peace, happiness, and prosperity are the fruits, not of armed, but of friendly rivalry. Then, too, it is becoming more and more evident that war must cease if the world is not to perish. The late conflict was over before men realized what peril the world escaped. Eight million men, choice specimens of the nations engaged, were actually killed, unnumbered multitudes were maimed or disabled, the actual expenditures have pauperized the nations, and brought untold sufferings upon generations. One dozen submarines destroyed in two years eight million tons of British shipping. Scientists, during and since the war, have evolved engines of destruction, the very thought of which affrights us. Deadly forms of poisonous gas with which to stifle and suffocate not only hostile armies but entire populations are at hand for use in future conflicts. It needs

little imagination to foresee a time when sleeping cities, far from the field, or scene of conflict, may be bombed with deadly precision through the darkness, not at random or at intervals, but from day to day. We can easily visualize a submarine blockade forcing a world famine and so ending civilization. Will not even military enthusiasts be moved to demand that war cease forever and that propaganda and acts which are sure to lead to it, be outlawed?

The prosecution of war demands a concentration of national resources and the centralization of the offices of government, and the temporary suspension of the provisions for individual initiative and popular freedom. Governments are always slow to relinquish powers appropriated under the stress of a real necessity. This is why wars have always curtailed or put an end to popular freedom. Lord Macaulay tells us that nearly all of the peoples of Western Europe were free at the beginning of the thirteenth century. All but one had lost their constitutional guarantees at the beginning of the fifteenth century. This was brought about by a necessity incidental to the prosecution of wars. Many of the states of Europe have had constitutional forms of government replaced by autocratic forms as a re-

sult of the great war. We, of America, have not the same measure of freedom that we enjoyed before 1914.

Too long have entire populations been weighted down, especially in Europe, by oppression of fear, uncertainty, and suspicion. Must human life in its most civilized state be forever but a troubled nightmare, disturbed by the ever recurring menace of war?

A suffering world has passed judgment and under the stress of untold sufferings it condemns war as unnecessary and therefore unjustifiable. It is unnecessary, because there is another and a better way for securing redress and composing international disputes. In this view we have the support of notable achievement. After Waterloo, a strong party in the English House of Commons moved to build a fleet to secure the mastery of the Great Lakes for Great Britain and several ships of the line were being hurried to completion at Kingston. Our government, equally concerned and determined, was, however, hastening to meet the challenge when President Monroe, influenced by a saner judgment and a better vision, proposed to the English government that neither country should keep any ship of war on the Lakes. England acquiesced and all the ships

of both countries for lake service were dismantled. An agreement signed April 28, 1817, called the Bagot-Rush Agreement, has stood the test of more than a century, notwithstanding the provocations incidental to a rebellion in Canada and our own Civil War. The spirit of that same agreement averted a clash at arms when popular feeling ran so high on both sides on the occasion of the fixing of the Canadian boundary line in 1846. A degree of latitude was taken and turned into a frontier from the Lake of the Woods to the Pacific. Thus the Canadian boundary line is the longest in the world, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific—3840 miles, the most defenseless and yet the safest in the world. Its strength is not in fortresses—it has none—but in mutual good faith and trust.

Wars come of hasty decisions made in the excitement of anger, provoked by real or fancied wrong. Eliminate the haste so as to give anger time to abate, and free and peaceful deliberation and discussion will bring the real merits of the issue into due prominence. Let charity and justice, which are a law unto nations as to individuals, assume their due place in the life of peoples, and war may cease forever.

We are told, and one is surprised to find the

long roster of great names subscribing to the view, that human nature being what it is, the abolishment of war would be no blessing to our race; that its recurrence at measured periods is necessary for the life of patriotism, courage, and human virility. A prominent writer calls it a high necessity in the world's career. Sir Oliver Lodge tells us that the explosion of projectiles in sufficient numbers may save civilization, that nothing else will.

This view, I say, is held by very many men of great influence. Is it true? There has been no more significant revolution of feeling in our time than the French contempt for military ambition and dislike of military service. The teachers in the schools of France by the thousands were pacifists. When the thunderbolt fell, France was without adequate protection. I do not praise that unwisdom with danger so near, but I may say that notwithstanding the dislike of military spirit, no people ever revealed a more disinterested love of country than those of French blood who hastened from far and near to the defense of France in her hour of peril.

We of America have ever been infatuated with the desire for peace. In the history of our calls to arms we have had but one real war since

the establishment of the Union. In the interim lesser conflicts were more a matter of police than of policy. But when the summons came were there many traitors or cowards or effeminate among the millions who rose up to follow the flag across the perilous sea, many of whom died on Flanders Field?

What manly virtue was wanting in the brave boys of Canada and Australia, whose homelands had never been disturbed by the demon of war? No, love of country and the disposition to render it service are among the natural endowments of man, and not the outgrowth of the military spirit. The duties of patriotism are not restricted to military service. Had there been more true patriotism in high places to resist war propaganda and expose baseless pretexts, the world would have been spared many a clash at arms.

In the Christian view, for we are reviewing the attitude of the Church in regard to this great problem of world peace, the exercise of patriotism is one of the very important duties of life, to which we are committed not merely by considerations of expediency but by the law of God. Moreover, the Christian law of life involves us constantly in a war against the inordinate impulses of our lower nature, which, as it calls for

the exercise of courage and true manliness, makes also for the growth of every sturdy virtue. Every man who listens earnestly to the invitation of love, "Take up your cross and follow me," must discover in his experience an exercise which prepares him for every call of duty, religious or civil. Life to him is always upward and every virtue of virility and manliness grows apace with the intensity of his faith.

Then too we have the encouragement of a great tradition. Who have been the heroes of the world throughout the last twenty centuries? The great army of men and women who counted it little to sacrifice everything for the triumph of truth. They have been the most splendid examples of true heroism. The blessed Thomas More was a nobler exemplification of every soldierly virtue than the militant Oliver Cromwell. St. Vincent de Paul was more richly endowed with the virtues of citizenship than Napoleon Bonaparte. Yes, and the world is more blessed in his deeds. We need not more of the science of war; we need more correct philosophy. It is the materialistic conception of things that has brought the world to the present impasse. We need the general recognition of the law that, as the great Burke said, "existed before civilization,

was in force before there was a man to obey it, is independent of legislatures as it is of judicial tribunals—the law of nature." We are made what we are, rational beings with a consciousness of personal responsibility; we are holden by a law and we cannot escape without doing violence to the most intimate light in our lives.

The recognition of the God of the Christians creates within us a consciousness of universal brotherhood. We are akin, and if we meditate on the meaning and sweep of that great truth we will live as brothers. Christ had a profound regard for personality. He loved the poor, He cared for the outcasts; He made Himself the companion of the forgotten and neglected. It is that philosophy exemplified in Christ's life, which created the large Christian family in which every man is a prince bound with the patent of nobility, deserving in the highest measure respect and consideration, whether he is a beggar or a king.

If there is to be peace on earth these principles must be broadcast the world over. It is the task of Christian people, religious men and women everywhere, to disseminate these truths as zealously as the militarist proclaims his gospel of war.

Before the advent of Christianity no nation ever reached a higher conception of man than the nation or the tribal. The Greeks, most refined of pagan peoples, were most cruelly exclusive. To them the war captain was the hero. Achilles and Hector, splendid bullies breathing vengeance, were their idols. Plato, the most noble and spiritual mind of paganism, not a poet, mark you, but a philosopher, praises the Athenians for their hatred of foreigners. Aristotle, who taught the world to think, was not larger in his sympathies. His philosophy led him to no higher visions, nor was he more human. He counts it fortunate that noblemen were provided not only with beasts of burden but with slaves. Cato, Cicero's gentleman, sold his slaves when they became inefficient, sent them adrift. He had their illegitimate children trained like beasts for the arena, for in his mind they were but chattels. Crassus, at the conclusion of the Servile War, crucified ten thousand slaves in a single day; their bodies lined all the way from Capua to Rome. No large sympathy moved any man to censure this brutality. Among the savages, the stronger tribe everywhere preyed upon the weak.

How was that order of things reversed? The

founder of Christianity declared it His purpose to mankind to redeem all men. He came to serve men, not nationals. He was the apostle of peace to the whole world, preaching a gospel of love. All were to form a new brotherhood in which all, irrespective of incidental distinctions, were to hold membership. Christ loved mankind even to death on the cross. He demanded that men love one another even as He had loved them. He showed profound respect for the needy and promised commensurate reward to those who would serve the choice objects of His love and solicitude. The first Christian community, reflecting His spirit, were of one mind and one heart, though drawn from all the nations of the world.

The urgent need of another expedient than war to compose international differences has been forced upon the attention of men of large leadership everywhere. There is a disposition to recognize, encourage, and support the forces that are working for peaceful settlement of international disputes. The claim of kinship based upon a common origin and a common destiny, when interpreted as Christianity interprets it, is expanding the scope of common brotherhood.

The new movement of organized labor to be more international in its outlook is awakening a larger class consciousness, bringing men and women of all nations together and revealing to them the great advantage of sympathetic accord on questions that interest them all. The miners and steel workers of Pittsburgh are realizing the close and cherished kinship with their fellow craftsmen of every nationality. This tendency towards a consciousness of universal solidarity is seen in almost every department of activity and is weakening the power of nationality.

The growing facilities for communication, the habit of travel, the intermingling of various bloods through migration, are replacing nationality in its more restricted aspect. It is becoming more and more evident to those who observe such tendencies and note such changes that nationality is not a thing to be considered as eternal, but a thing to be assumed and renounced at will.

The moral influence of religious forces, among them that represented by the Pope, should not pass unnoticed. His decrees are no longer enforced by the secular power. Their force is in

the conscience of a universal society counting membership in every nation. His is one of the most deliberate, the best informed, and because of its supranational character, perhaps the most disinterested tribunal in the world. And with the Christian charity which distinguishes the exercise of his office, neither Greek nor barbarian holds any place of preference in the love of the great heart of the Holy Father. The range of his diplomacy is vastly increased. Holland, Switzerland, Rumania, Russia, Poland, Greece, France, Germany, and Great Britain are among the thirty-four powers that have formal intercourse through accredited representatives with the papal court. Splendid traditions of beneficent advice and intervention in international disputes have led these nations to recognize his providential position and avail themselves in need of his kindly offices.

The Dutch Prime Minister in 1915 justified Holland's petition for recognition by saying: "In the Pope one sees an important international power. One may regret it, but the fact cannot be denied. There is no important center which can exercise more influence in the direction of peace than the Vatican actually does." In 1922 Mr. Lloyd George, addressing a general gather-

ing of nonconformist clergymen in England, referred to the Pope as having performed above all others the task of peace-maker.

With the experience of the last war to chasten belligerents and discredit the claims made for war as providentially adapted to vindicate national rights and honor, the world is moving along to more reasonable and humane provisions, and as it leaves war behind, it welcomes the advent of the League of Nations, first suggested by Pope Benedict XV, on the first of August, 1917, when he called to the heads of the warring people to cease their senseless conflict and move for an international agreement to secure the world in the future against such barbarous expedients. The suggestion was taken up by Mr. Wilson, who elaborated the provisions of the League of Nations and forced its attachment to the agreement for peace at Versailles. Practically all progressive peoples have given it their adherence. Its success in composing the controversies already submitted to it is assurance of a fair measure of efficiency. Some politicians in America have labored to create a prejudice against it. We have every confidence that the supreme people who love peace and hope for larger international friendship will easily detect the motive of ad-

verse propaganda and throw the decisive influence of America's goodwill and support to the League.

Conferences like this are being held all over Europe. I have been interested in the reports of such, called at the suggestion of the Pope in England, France, Germany, Italy, and Austria for the purpose of enlisting the best thoughts of wise men for support in the direction of this supremely important movement for world peace. We too, if we be true to our profession of interest in a great cause, must devote time and study to problems which are engaging the attention of the world; we too must labor to bring those who are unhappily under the influence of political expediencies to the right view, that peace and not war shall henceforth for all time be the recourse of individuals and nations for the composing of their differences, and for the defense and maintenance of justice.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ESSENTIAL RELIGIOUS BASIS

By Reverend S. Parkes Cadman, D.D.

In this great purpose of "Building International Goodwill" our first acknowledgments are due to those whom we miscall dead—the eight millions who fell in war and three millions more who never reported back, many of whom must have died in battle—wherever they are, friend or foe, across this far-flung battle front. Truly they proclaim the evil of war.

It seems eminently fitting that we should emphasize the sacrifice of this host of men who, placed in phalanx and marching past, would not go by in weeks or months of ghastly review. Let us not allow this hurried and fevered life of ours to crowd out of our tender and thoughtful recollection those who died owing to this terrific breakdown, for I am bound to call it such, of intelligence and wise guidance of nominally Christian states. Unless so-called Christian states can readjust themselves to the situation, cease to jockey with the winds of political ex-

igency and return to those first principles of action which neither listlessness nor mad endeavor can destroy, then I for one, though naturally optimistic, can see no future for this type of civilization which we cherish.

We have to ask ourselves, and also the conscience of this nation, "Why did these men die? For what purpose was this fearful waste which must have made hell itself turn pale? What is the explanation of such wanton slaughter?" I don't propose to enter into the details of it, because these are already impressed upon every thoughtful man and woman. You know that it was the chief burden of Lincoln in the course of his stormy administration, how he answered the interrogation at Gettysburg, and what the answer has meant to us all. Yet there has arisen no leadership to-day, no statesman and no churchman, in America at least, who has answered the question, "Why this terrible sacrifice?"

Even if its significance were plain, its justification has been somewhat neglected since the issue was decided only temporarily, and for the most part futilely, by the stern arbitrament of the sword. For force ultimately settles nothing. Don't take that as the axiom of Jane Addams

or some other eminent pacifist. That is the statement of Napoleon, so-called "The Great," and he killed three million Frenchmen to demonstrate it. Force eventually settles nothing. How shall we then fulfill our obligations to our holy dead?

I thought of this a few months ago, as I stood in Whitehall at the heart of the British Empire, during services in memory of the nation's dead. Many of you have seen that massive, typical monument, around which were gathered the bands of the Guards' Brigade and many celebrities of the nation. There was the solemnity of a people celebrating its requiem with melancholy beat and slow, one-half of which was confession that as yet we have found no answer to this great question: "Why was this sacrifice made?"

Nor will it be found in any immediate concrete form. I am not pleading for that because I realize, as has been very wisely said by the Council of Churches, that any approach to the abolition of war is a great intellectual, moral, and spiritual enterprise, commanding the patience, the devotion, the prolonged attention and friendship of men and women everywhere if we are to generate beneath the ribs of human society the heart of justice and of love, which after all is God's chief concern in either Church or State.

It seems to me we do a special honor to our great soldiers in our demand that their comrades shall not cry from the grave in vain, nor shall they be summoned, as some would summon them, in an attempt to vindicate the policies which preceded the damnable outrage of needless war. This is strong language from a quiet recluse of the Protestant faith and order. Nevertheless, I use it advisedly, and I use it after reflecting considerably.

I wonder how many of us have taken time to plunge into the pre-war literature issued after the event was over? How many know the records of the various diplomats, their courts, and plenipotentiaries, and what lay behind all this? After consulting these diversified sources, including those of Germany, America, Holland, Sweden, and France, all I can say is that nothing could be more revealing than the utterly insufficient causes for any such trouble to be launched on the world. We have the word of that sober-minded gentleman, Lord Grey, who says that if any country or all of them put together had known the actual causes behind the war, the people in those countries in every case would have refused to fight. Hence there was no more reason in strict point of fact for this erup-

tion of godlessness, this downfall of Christendom (for that is how we, Protestant, Catholic, and Jew alike, must consider it) than there is for me at this moment to undertake to inoculate you, my readers, with the mania to kill.

Now, that was the actual state of affairs that existed in 1914, when with tribal ferocity the tom-toms were beaten and every appeal was made to the most primitive and degraded passions. After all, what was in its first sense a great tragedy can be turned to good account; God rules in the darkness as in the light, and makes the wickedness of men work out eventually his own glory in human redemption. Yet, were the disaster repeated, one would be tempted to say, in the language of Pope,

> "Thy hand, Great Anarch, let the curtain fall
> And universal darkness cover all."

A statesman of the English Church, in full sympathy with all branches of Christianity and Judaism, said to me recently: "The principal obstacle to the progress of Christian civilization, so-called, is the conduct of the Christian nations. How many of them are prepared to repent and to take an entirely different view of such a situation in the spirit of the Father of us all, to give

it clarity and definiteness, and to accomplish something in the world's arrangements for peace?"

Well, if history is any guide, we have to be suspicious of some great leaders whom we mention with accents of awe in political rallies. To quote Lord Acton, the erudite and accomplished historian of the last century, "If all the statesmen so-called in the last thousand years could be convened, among them would be the worst scoundrels the nations have produced." The fact is that politics never produces its own moralities. No political system, however wisely constructed, —and I yield to none in my reverence for American Democracy,—can furnish an ethic. Whatever ethics it has must come from outside itself. We sometimes use mouth-filling words of historic import as though they were a sort of legerdemain, in themselves capable of making the potentate a man of morals and ability; yet, if the United States, or any other nation of the world, is to address itself to the correction of the evils of mankind it must appeal to another and a higher power for strength to meet the situation. It will never get that strength from its political institutions. These in themselves are effects and not causes, with no creative power, and they refer

us back to the Creator of the people who gave them their being.

The present form of nationalism was the active and underlying cause of this unhappy conflict. Nationalism placed these armies in battle array and made women's hearts to break, and the lives of untold millions to be blighted—proud, greedy, arrogant, and boastful nationalism. The cause of this war, stated in correct and judicial language, was that proud nationalism. And we have to live *inter*nationally, as this splendid World Alliance is endeavoring to live, in broader relations, and bring about through the medium of public opinion an intelligent moral statesmanship to solve these problems in a way that will not assume superiority over other less fortunate states.

The Church saw what the proud Roman did to Rome. She saw Greece topple down. She saw the dissolution of the great empires. Other conquerors too went their appointed way. And still she seems helpless, yet is potentially omnipotent in this seeming helplessness, because she ponders deeply what are so finely called the things of the spirit.

This boasted civilization of ours, should it become too materialistic, will crumble before our very eyes, its inward resistance being unequal to

the outward pressure. Such is the peril of a nation lifted to heights of prosperity, which are also heights of slippery walking. It is, therefore, the mission of America in the solution of this problem first of all to consider history. Whence came our country, the United States? It did not come by the edict of the Emperors, and as for the English kings, they simply used it as a place to which people of whom they got a little weary could be sent. Sir Francis Bacon said that a more mischievous lot than those who sailed upon the *Mayflower* never left England for England's good. They didn't say that in 1918 when the sons of those Pilgrim Fathers went back to pull them out of the hole. No, but I am only pointing out that we were not founded on politics and protocols and great world arrangements in which we feign to put our trust to-day. Our fathers went out like Abraham of old, not knowing where they were going, but trusting themselves to uncharted seas and unknown regions. What is true of New England is equally true of New York, doubtful as that may seem. I was asked some years ago to speak at the three-hundredth anniversary of the building of the first Christian Church in New York, and the Roman Catholic, Hebrew, and Protestant brethren united in the

request. I found in consulting the archives that the first act of the Hollanders landing in New York was to erect a meetinghouse. So even that enormous city began on a religious, rather than a political, foundation. With the founding of Pennsylvania by William Penn and the Quakers, came an eminently spiritual church, full of light and leading. They were "God's aristocrats." If they had lived now they would have an unhappy time with some who bawl for liberty in a fighting mood. I need not emphasize the founding of Pennsylvania, except to say that the peace of Christ was kept in this great commonwealth for seventy years upon the basis of William Penn's personal allegiance to Christ.

The first commonwealth in this country of the original thirteen to give actual and complete freedom to the Quaker and to the Jew, then so widely persecuted, was not a Protestant but a Roman Catholic commonwealth. I am a Protestant but I am bound to tell you that if we taught history as it should be taught, more Protestant people would know that the first colony standing for complete religious liberty in this nation was founded by our Catholic brethren.

Carlyle said that the only sensible thing the

eighteenth century did to prove it had brains was to produce the American and French Revolutions. Yet out of that senseless and forbidding time came a golden roll of statesmen who gave us the liberties we possess and made the bounds of freedom wider.

To-day we are the wealthiest country in the world; may God give us wisdom to use our means aright. Riches may be as great a menace as a blessing. The wealthiest country in the world! So was Carthage, now dead and damned. She left no poet, no statesman; only two great soldiers. Whereas we can never speak for five minutes without referring to the grandeur that was Rome, and the glory that was Greece.

Do we not stand at the parting of the ways, with our thousands of slain sons stretching out their hands from the invisible and asking us, "What do you propose to do with these gifts we placed at your disposal?" And the answer of the American people must be, "We will make them available for peace with justice." Bigness is often the vulgarity of bulk. Never has there been a great nation because she had wealth or size. The great nations of the world were poor, small, prophetic, with their pilgrims keeping vigil in the night for the glories of the Celestial City.

The England of Shakespeare was not nearly so wealthy as New York, but she had Shakespeare, and we have—what?

Pittsburgh is not a great city because it manufactures steel; America is not great because we manufacture deadly gases, effective over an area of ten miles long and seven hundred and fifty yards broad, in which nothing will be left alive. If there is no spiritual hand guiding these titanic forces which make up this great industrial city and the State; if there is no higher power shaping our ideals; then the Bible's prophecies were but the ravings of inordinate men. If Lincoln only had a daydream when he appealed to the everlasting Father, our sons have died in vain. The everlasting Christ, the Son of God, is indeed the Light of man. He is the guide and teacher, uniting us in Brotherhood, and giving greater emphasis to the ancient predictions of God as the Father of the race. If this be true, let me say that they who take to the sword shall perish by the sword; this they cannot escape. We do not propose to perish for any wars not indorsed by unanimous opinion. Already people are asking themselves, "What is my nation as Protestant to the Catholic, and Catholic to the Protestant, both to the Jew, and all to the Hindu, and to

the other nations of the earth?" Thus the splendid vision rises before us all.

I am deeply grateful to the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, under whose auspices this book is assembled. It can help to give us practical solutions for these discussions. At least we shall not move off the stage to the reproach in another world that we did not push the plow of justice and fair dealing a few inches farther through the cosmic soil.

CHAPTER XIV

THE UNITED STATES; CONTRIBUTOR OR IMPEDIMENT TO WORLD PEACE

By James T. Shotwell

Last year, on Armistice Day, I delivered the address at Robert College, Constantinople. It would be hard to imagine a more interesting audience to address on an occasion like that, drawn as it was from all the nations of south-eastern Europe where war had been a commonplace throughout all modern, as well as medieval and ancient, history and where, if any place in the world, the hope of peace to which Armistice Day is dedicated would seem the most unreal. To those young men, so many of whom had fought during the World War on hostile fronts, the institution of war has been not only legitimate in their traditions and society; it has been essential for the liberation of the oppressed, and only by its organized machinery could the oppressors rule. Bulgar, Greek, and Armenian had risked their all in the struggle with the Turk, and the Turk in turn based his very claim to rule

upon the fear of the sword. It would be hard to find any other student body in the world whose home experience from childhood had schooled them so definitely in that theory of society which regards war as inevitable. And yet, the very existence of Robert College and the very fact of their presence there, studying on a common basis, and learning to appreciate the common heritage of civilization, was an outstanding contradiction to this old-time tradition of their village firesides. Those to whom war is such a constant menace and whose history is so interwoven with its tragedies and its achievements are not likely to be unduly optimistic over theories of universal peace unless those theories correspond to the hard realities of their own lives. But something was happening down there in the Balkans even while we were talking, which gave a new turn to the perspective of international life, an incident that awakened but a temporary interest in America but which, in that part of the world from which the World War itself sprang, gave a new vitality to the forces which make for peace.

Only a week or two before Armistice Day a war had been averted in the Balkans which, had it broken out, would almost certainly have im-

periled the whole world's peace. The frontier between Bulgaria and Greece along the hills that look down upon the Ægean is one which neither side willingly accepts. The Greeks hold it but the Bulgars claim it. It is no part of our story here to decide where the justice in the case lies. But the mountaineers of Thrace and Macedonia have never been accustomed to await any tribunal other than their own strong local sense of right and wrong. It is the land where guns go off of their own accord, and life has always been accounted cheap, especially in connection with feuds and border raids. So, somehow, fighting began in a lonely outpost where Greek guards were apparently attacked by Bulgars. Whatever the opening incident, it was at once taken up by the Greeks in the way in which quarrels in Macedonia had always been taken up in the past. The Greek army formed behind the hills and marched over the mountain roads into Bulgaria. It was a full-sized Greek army marching in battle formation with field artillery and all the appurtenances of war. Another army was rushed up to the base behind and held in reserve. The peasants from some forty Bulgar villages fled in terror at the approach of the Greeks and spread in panic down into the Bulgarian plain toward Philippopolis and

Sofia. The Bulgar army limited and slight as it is, owing to the terms of the Peace Treaty, got ready to defend Bulgaria against the Greek advance.

Let us see for a moment what would have likely happened had the incident taken place prior to 1914. First of all, Bulgaria would turn to Russia. There are the strongest possible ties, historical and cultural, as well as political, to bind Bulgaria to the great homeland of the Slavs. Imagine, then, the Soviets drawn to help the Bulgar peasants and profiting from the circumstance to plant themselves and their doctrines as well at Sofia. With the Soviets moving in to help Bulgaria, Rumania would find its Bessarabian frontiers overrun; and once Rumania is engaged in a campaign against Bulgaria the Rumanian Treaty of Alliance with Poland would inevitably draw Poland into war with Russia as well. For Rumania and Poland have a treaty of mutual defense which is directed solely against the danger to either one of invasion from Russia.

Meanwhile, the Yugoslavs can hardly fail to see their chance for Salonika; even during the autumn of 1925 the Greeks proclaimed that the Yugoslav mountaineers on the hills of Macedonia were being so directed that they constituted a

threat to seize the railroad lines to that one great port for the valley that leads through the Macedonian hills toward Belgrade. With Yugoslavia involved in a Salonika adventure, working jointly with the Bulgars to push the Greek from the fringe of seacoast along the Ægean, and with Rumania engaged in a hard struggle with the Soviet, that would be the time for the Magyar to strike once more against the harsh terms of the Peace Treaty which keeps him from the Danube on the south and the Carpathian Hills. The Little Entente is then called into action, involving Czechoslovakia in the very heart of Europe. Would it not seem natural then, with Poland and Czechoslovakia both directing their forces to the south and east, for the Germans—I am speaking now not of a Europe of to-day but of a Europe of 1914—to retake the corridor that separates them from East Prussia and perhaps the disputed Silesia? With war on the east, Poland would then invoke her French alliance. The armies of France would bore through the Vosges to the cities of the Rhineland. And, since Germany's industrial organization is more nearly restored than that of any other European country, the balance of war might be so even as to draw in the rest of the civilized world once more.

This is no fanciful picture. It is most likely what would have happened had the world remained under the same state system as that of 1914. But instead, the war of 1925 was a war that never happened. For during those very hours of suspense and terror on the Bulgarian frontier the Council of the League of Nations met in Paris, calling its members together by cable and wireless. The Foreign Minister of Sweden flew in his airplane from Stockholm down to France, and in a relatively short time the Bulgar and the Greek envoys were summoned to a Council meeting. Monsieur Briand presided. Turning first to the Bulgar envoy he gave him a chance to speak. But when this Minister started to plead the justice of the Bulgar case, Monsieur Briand stopped him abruptly, much to the Bulgar's surprise, and said, "This is not what we are met to discuss. There is only one question before us. Will you, or will you not, cease warlike preparations and accept the judgment of a Commission to be appointed by the League which will ultimately study the problem on the ground and deliver its judgments?" The Bulgar, nonplused for a moment, said "Yes" and then sat down. Turning then to the Greek, Monsieur Briand repeated the question in identical terms.

The Greek protested somewhat more but then consented as well. The army of Greece was withdrawn to its own territories. The Bulgar troops brought back their refugees to their deserted villages; and a commission, drawn from a half dozen different European nations, came down to take evidence in Sofia, in the hills of Macedonia, and in Athens itself. I was present in Athens when the commission met there. It was a unique experience for those governments to have to justify, in their own capitals and before a committee of neutrals, acts which formerly had had no other tribunal than that of the sword.

What was the result? To-night the Swedish gendarmerie are watching on the hills of Macedonia and preserving peace in the name of a community of nations whose seat is at Geneva. I bring this incident before you, not for the sake of the League of Nations or its cause, but for something else in that incident. The war was really stopped by the application of a definition of aggressive war which had been accepted by the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1924 and has become a basis of the Treaty of Locarno. *That Power is an aggressor which goes to war refusing the appropriate and established means of peaceful settlement.* Greece or Bulgaria,

either one, had it gone into war rejecting the proposal for a commission of investigation, would have been adjudged an aggressor from that time on, no matter what its previous seeming justification. The question as put by Monsieur Briand was not "What is the justice of the case?" but "Will you stop fighting and submit the case to the appropriate tribunal?"

This definition of aggression has been embodied in Locarno. Britain comes to the help of that Power which suffers from an attack by another Power that refuses to plead its case in the international tribunals appointed for it. This country has not yet accepted any such test of aggression, for it involves an acceptance of international justice to which we have not yet subscribed. Few of us are really aware how far behind the rest of the world we are in erecting the alternatives for war. We talk of peace in the same narrow sense that we talk of justice and goodness, but peace is not a vague sentiment. It is a political relationship, definite and exacting. It can only be maintained by erection of institutions which function properly in times of crises, and enable governments to adjust their controversies and their quarrels without having to appeal to that last argument of force which has always

been the threat, if not the reality, in diplomacy.

It is not enough to erect a world court limited to those cases which are violations of contract or of law. For most of the quarrels which bring war lie outside the law, and are exactly those issues which we reserve under the caption of national honor and vital interest. It is not enough to have a possible recourse to arbitration; for if it is only a possible recourse, our neighbors will never know for sure when we will accept it for our means of settling our disputes with them. There must be compulsory and unescapable recourse to the appropriate means of peaceful settlement, or else the nations of the world will arm as they have always done and protect themselves against a possible attack. The definition of aggression applied in the case of Bulgaria and Greece is capable of application between all nations and when we learn to accept it for ourselves, for our own United States, we shall have taken the greatest step toward the elimination of war itself. For if we regard that nation as an aggressor which goes to war refusing appropriate means of settlement, then we must build up appropriate means, and we shall find even for questions of national honor and vital interest that

there is a method of settlement appropriate to them through conciliation and mediation, if not through the courts. This is the meaning of Locarno, which offers the court and arbitration for matters suitable for settlement by binding tribunals and a commission of conciliation for political issues not suitable for submission to judicial settlement. But every signatory to Locarno must accept the appropriate body for each issue which comes before it and in no case turn to the alternative of war.

This is a kind of treaty which the United States could make and which it should make with those Powers in whose goodwill it can trust. But we have a long way to go in this country before we are ready to accept these far-reaching devices for peace which are binding Europe into a new community of nations. There will have to be much education of the American public as to the proper scope of conciliation and of arbitration before we can make our Locarno effective. The day will come undoubtedly when we shall enter this community of nations through treaties like these, if not in more formal ways. But in the interval, there is something very definite for us to do.

We have recently heard much of the Commission of Disarmament working at Geneva. Some-

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times we are told that it has been a failure and that this work has amounted to nothing. This is not the case. But whatever disarmament conference may eventually come from its labors, there is no thoroughgoing movement possible towards disarmament until this country restates its position with reference to the laws of neutrality. At present, as you will remember from the World War, it is the theory of international law that the citizens of a neutral state have the right to ship arms to any belligerent. This is not a violation of neutrality under the existing law. It is only when the state itself sends its munitions that it becomes non-neutral. But if the states at war have previously signed a Locarno or accepted the Covenant of the League of Nations by which they agree to a test of aggression which brands the assailant as the aggressor if he goes to war refusing justice, then if we insist upon the shipment of our arms to that aggressor, we become parties to his aggression and fellow criminals with him in it. There should be a statement from our government, a solemn pronouncement that would rank in history with the Monroe Doctrine or the doctrine of the Open Door, that our government would not so interpret the privileges of neutrality as to become the accomplice of an

aggressor nation self-confessed through the violation of its own pledge.

If we were to deny the rich resources of our country to any Power that was plotting aggression, the plotting would be largely hindered at the start. But we are not concerned at this moment with the guilt of other nations but with the fact that unless we do make some such statement as this, the other Powers of the world cannot go on hopefully building up any plan of disarmament, for if our supplies or arms and munitions are readily available as they were in 1914, it is of minor importance for Europe to destroy its own munition plants, its Krupps, Armstrongs, and Creusots, if Pittsburgh and Bethlehem Steel and Bridgeport are at the disposal of the belligerents. Here at least is one step we can take, even without entering Court or League. The duty of taking this step confronts us now.

I have tried to sketch a page of history which is little understood in this country. So far it has been primarily a page of European history. We have inherent difficulty in understanding it, not to speak of participating in it. It is not simply our distance from the scene of action which makes it difficult for us to understand the drift of events beyond the Atlantic. There is

an historical difficulty as well, in this instance; one of which historians and teachers of history are perhaps not fully aware. For, by a strange paradox, we are probably contributing to it unconsciously. Let me state it in terms of an incident which happened to me last Spring. The editor of one of the most important journals of Europe, during a visit to this country, said to me that he had been puzzled by the emphasis placed in this country upon national sovereignty, and that he at last had discovered one reason for this apparent in terms of our history and of our teaching of civics. I wonder how many of you could guess the point which lay in his mind. He said, "No other nation recites a Declaration of Independence the way Americans do. No European students are brought up on the implied suggestion that their country has been cut off from other countries to begin its own career as a fit embodiment of the culture and traditions of a nation. There have been other similar revolutions establishing independence, as for instance in the case of little Belgium, or more recently in the case of Czechoslovakia, but in no other country is there such a doctrine of sovereignty implied in the instrument which was responsible for its independent life." I had never thought

of this until the European visitor pointed it out. The Declaration of Independence was in its day a challenge to a then existent evil, but that challenge was stated in terms of a general doctrine and a doctrine reinterpreted as an underlying protest against any outside interference with the absolute rights of the sovereign American nation. This historical event, unique in our own annals, has perhaps played a large rôle in the molding of that subconscious outlook and tendency which gives direction to the mind of a nation, as it does to that of an individual.

I do not ask you to lessen in any degree the emphasis in the teaching of American history of the Declaration of Independence; but while the emphasis may stand, there should undoubtedly be greater care in the interpretation of its bearing upon American history. Unconscious emphasis and insistence upon absolute sovereignty is greater in this country than any place else in the civilized world. In so far as it safeguards the rights of America from outside interference the emphasis upon sovereignty may stand, but if it is allowed to block the fulfillment of America's duty to the rest of the world, if it is permitted to destroy the orientation of American thought and to create in us a tendency toward that un-

conscious hypocrisy which regards the rest of the world as inferior to ourselves, then the emphasis upon sovereignty must yield to a critical knowledge of where it has led us.

Just what does this mean in more definite terms? So far we have been talking in the language of general theory. Our isolation from the European involvement—in fulfillment of the old doctrine expressed by Washington—has led this country to be one of the chief supporters of neutrality in time of war. By remaining neutral we hoped that we could lessen the scope of war until it would finally reach a diminishing point. This insistence upon neutrality rights seemed throughout the nineteenth century to be almost an equivalent of a policy looking toward peace. The World War and the subsequent formation of the League of Nations has changed all this in ways which I have just indicated. War between states which have signed the Covenant of the League of Nations is no longer the kind of war it used to be. In the old days, when any sovereign state was free to use military or naval force for the effective prosecution of its policies, war had no moral content, no legal reprobation. The signatories of the League of Nations now live under a different régime. Still more definitely

is this the case in the Locarno treaties. We have got back to the doctrine of Grotius at the beginning of international law that there are good and bad wars. Bad wars are those which violate pledges to preserve peace, as in the Covenant and Locarno; and good wars are those of defense against attempted aggression. To give the definition of aggression another form, "That Power is an aggressor which goes to war refusing the pertinent, established, and accepted method of peaceful settlement." Henceforth, the Power that breaks this rule becomes, by its own act, an easily identified aggressor. The international law of the world has been changed. One cannot change so vital a matter without affecting our relation to it. When we insist upon the ancient rights of neutrality, what is our situation? We should be insisting that the Powers at war—both the aggressor and the defensive Powers waging police war in mutual defense to put down the aggressor—should alike have the privilege of our markets and our supplies for the private shipment of arms or other supplies, the only risk being that assumed by the private owner. We should as a nation be insisting that this privilege be available for both the aggressor and the aggressed alike. This at least is our legal situation now. It is obviously immoral.

A reform, therefore, is frankly due in the adjustment of our relationship to the entire system which centers at Geneva.

Fortunately there are two precedents which are rooted in American policy and have nothing whatever to do with the League of Nations. In 1912, President Taft, by joint resolution of Congress, was empowered to forbid shipment of arms to American countries where conditions of domestic violence existed; in 1922, the same resolution was reënacted and was extended to any country in which the United States "exercised extra-territorial jurisdiction." Three times these powers granted by the resolution have been exercised by the Presidents of the United States. By President Wilson, on the 14th of March, 1912, and the 19th of October, 1915, and by President Coolidge on the 7th of January, 1924. These two precedents could be made the basis of a very sweeping readjustment of the international law of neutrality. If instead of Mexico and China the principle were to be applied to any state which had become a lawbreaker among nations, by going to war in violation of its own pledge not to do so contrary to Court or arbitration or other established peaceful means of settlement, then the United States would have adjusted itself to the coöperative effort of international peace

represented by the League of Nations. As I have already stated the formula, we should then simply declare that, when in the judgment of our Executive a nation had gone to war in violation of its pledge to the nation attacked that it would settle its difficulties through Court or League, we should not permit the shipment of supplies to that nation.

This, of course, would be a unilateral statement of American doctrine and not binding, except as our good faith was engaged in the declared intention. The further step, of course, would be taken in due time of having such a policy embedded in the contract formed by a treaty or treaties so that the rest of the world would know definitely that we were obliged to act in such and such ways. Moreover, there is a further need for this joint agreement, as otherwise, with the doctrine of neutrality not formally restated and agreed to by both parties, we would under present international law invite the interpretation on the part of the belligerents of having become participants in belligerency. The scope and implications of the action should be carefully defined, and this can only be done in a new international conference on international law.

Turning from law to policy let us see where

such a suggestion as this will lead us. This country withheld its allegiance to the League of Nations largely because of a fear that we should become involved in the police action of the League in wars that were not our own, and so involved in European politics as to imperil our security. Here is a way of assisting the stabilizing action of the League, of coöperating with its policies in the prevention of war, without becoming involved ourselves. The safeguards to prevent our further involvement could be worked out in the newer conception of neutrality. Thus there seems to be a line of policy open to us which would not keep us where we are at present,—the potential accomplices of those states nourishing plans of aggressive war against the new and fragile structure of the community of nations toward whose organization and completion the hopes of the world are concentrated even now—hopes fraught at the same time with the poignant memories of a tragedy which has entered into millions of homes with the reminder that the greatest issue before the world at the present time is that to which this country has not as yet fully adjusted itself—namely, world peace.

CHAPTER XV

THE GREAT ADVENTURE

By M. Ashby Jones, D.D.

All of us have had experiences of gathering together on important committees, or in solemn conclaves to deliberate upon the attitude which the Church should take upon some great question at issue; then when we have published our decisions or declarations, have discovered that we were only "a voice in the wilderness." Scarcely anything is more discouraging to those who seek to influence the thought and action of the Church than, when we come away from those conferences, with mind and heart absorbed in an issue which seems vital to the progress of the Kingdom, to find that the rank and file of those who, after all, must compose the Church are unconscious that such questions have even been raised, or that this issue is even involved in the religious enterprise. So, out of these past experiences I am forced to wonder whether the Church—those who have builded its temples and occasionally bend their knees before its altars—have, in any way, seriously faced the question

whether those temples and altars which they have reared bear any vital relation to the purpose which has drawn us together here—to seek to make a warless world. Yet, in a short time from now, their choirs will be echoing the Christmas Chorus of the angels, and their pulpits will be declaring that He, who was born in Bethlehem, came to bring "peace and goodwill toward men." Perhaps just here is to be found our task. It is not so much to seek to give the answer of the Church, as to seek to arouse the Church to face this supremely important question, vital to the preservation of a Christian civilization, and, if necessary, force it to give an answer.

Here is an ancient and perhaps discouraging task. It means, first of all, to focus the thought of millions of disciples of Jesus, whose attention now is distracted and dissipated by ten thousand interests, and, having focused their thought and involved their interests, to challenge their imagination and enthusiasm with a world-wide enterprise, the purpose of which is nothing less than the creation of a new world in which men shall live in peaceful coöperation.

Is it not startlingly significant that if we would turn to our past to find the inspiration for a world-wide, or even nation-wide, example of

self-forgetful enthusiasm for a great cause, we are almost entirely confined to the experiences of war? Hitherto, it would seem that it is necessary to arouse the fighting blood of men in order to summon the full tide of human power. It is the dare of a danger, the challenge of an obstacle across his pathway summoning him to contest, which has ever aroused the sleeping powers of a man into action. Out of these contests our heroes have been born. But let it be remembered, the fine thing about a fight is not the will to destroy, but rather the willingness to be destroyed, if need be, for the sake of some great constructive purpose. Nor have all contests been destructive. In our great contests with nature—fighting with fire and flood, disease and danger—victory has not meant destruction, but rather the making of friends of the enemy. Nevertheless, they have been real fights, and their attraction for men has been the risk and the dare to heroic sacrifice. I insist that here is to be found the attractive appeal of war. That war breeds hatreds, brutality, and blood-lust is horribly true. But its first appeal—that which sweeps a nation with passionate enthusiasm—is the dare to the heroic.

In 1917–18 the people of this nation were more

nearly a unit in the service of a common cause than ever in our history. No matter what we may think about that cause now, they believed then that they had enlisted in a cause which meant the welfare of the human race. The shibboleths familiar to their lips were: "A war to end war"; "To make the world safe for democracy"; "To destroy militarism." It is not significant for my purpose now whether or not men were mistaken in this interpretation of the war issue. The significant thing is that an unselfish ideal claimed the loyalty of their service. For the time being men forgot themselves and their petty interests. Those who had been called a nation of money-lovers poured their billions of wealth upon the altar of their convictions, and I am convinced that there was scarcely a thought in this nation of any repayment of that money, in terms of percentage, stretching itself out through the generations to come. They gave their time, their energy, their sons and daughters with splendid enthusiasm in response to an appeal for service to a world. I insist that no less a motive could have touched the deeps of the spirit of this nation and elicited so much of the hitherto latent and unexpressed powers of our people. The war then, with all of its horror and

tragedy, did reveal an undreamed-of power in this nation, which could be summoned into action by an appeal to its unselfish heroism.

Now we dare face the task of mobilizing the manhood and resources of this nation, not for the purpose of war, but for the purpose of peace. I insist that the success or failure of our enterprise will depend upon the nature of the appeal which we make to this people. It must be an appeal to that same self-sacrificing, adventurous spirit which challenged this nation to supreme accomplishment in 1917–18. If we call to a sense of safety, a desire for security; if we appeal to fears, or strive to win men from the standpoint of their self-interests, we shall fail, and we ought to fail. It is well enough to picture the horrors of war and paint the fearful tragedy of its destruction of wealth and manhood so that we may clearly understand the criminal stupidity of this method of settling the controversies of the world, but if we rest our appeal there, we may just as well understand that we are appealing, in its last analysis, to the selfishness and timidity of men, and must face the truth that no really great achievements were ever born out of these motives. Self-consciousness is enfeebling, limiting, and paralyzing in the realm of action.

This was the mood in which we timidly and cautiously approached the World Court. We began the consideration of the question with the slogan, "Safety First." The whole discussion ranged around provision for the safeguarding of the rights of the United States. There was kept constantly in the consciousness of our people the fear of sacrificing our sovereignty and the danger of being imposed upon by unfriendly nations. So, when we did finally make our application for entrance, it was so hedged about with conditions that it amounted to little more than an uncertain gesture, made with reservations. It never gripped the conscience or quickened the heartbeat of this nation. It aroused no sense of sacrifice. It had no call to a crusade and there was no dare of danger.

In order to elicit any enthusiastic response on the part of our people for international peace, we must tell them frankly that a treaty-agreement between nations for the purpose of substituting reason for force inevitably means the sacrifice of rights. Within the limits of the conditions of the agreement independent action must be surrendered. Let us tell them the truth, that any genuine tribunal of arbitration, or court of international justice, involves a risk. Then

let us dare them to the splendid adventure of surrendering our sovereign right to fight, and in its place to trust even our most vital interests to the appeal to reason.

The experiences of the past should teach us that any peace program which is to receive the whole-hearted approval of the American People must be a positive program. Any resolution which is merely a proposal not to do something, or which seems to be only an academic condemnation of something, can never stir the blood of this nation. We can never mobilize the righteous enthusiasm of our people behind a negative proposition. The call which is to reach the heart of America must be clarion in its tone and, paradoxical as it sounds, it must summon in the interest of peace that same fighting blood which sent our sons to the battlefields of France. It must be a program that will seize the imagination of men, picturing a new world of such irresistible charm that they will be willing to risk all for its realization.

I love those words of Jesus, "Blessed are the peace makers." This means more than an attitude toward war. It means a creative, constructive task. They who are to make a peaceful world have no lesser task than to make a new

world. This is infinitely more than making a new map. It means the changing of the attitudes of peoples and the reconstruction of the relationships of the nations. No one nation can do this alone. It is a task which will require the sympathy, confidence, and wisdom of all the nations leagued in a common purpose. As long as the peoples of the earth fear and distrust each other and stand in armed watchfulness, suspicious of every word and act, there can be no genuine peace. Let us humbly confess the truth that our own beloved America stands out to-day, distinct and marked, in its attitude of distrust and suspicion of the other nations of the world. The reaction has been inevitable; we are the most distrusted nation of the world. We have been so careful and cautious, so suspicious and sensitive, in the safeguarding of our rights and our honor that we have evoked the suspicion of the world and discounted our ancient honorable standing among the peoples of the earth. It is true of nations, as of individuals, that "he who would save his life shall lose it." Confidence begets confidence, but distrust breeds distrust.

I believe that the first challenge of the Church to the people of America is to be a call to win back the confidence of the world. But to do

this we must first dare them to have faith in the other nations of the world. It must be faith enough to counsel with them and confidence enough to coöperate with them for a great constructive purpose.

I have been insisting that we must appeal to the highest ideals and to the deepest sentiment of these American people in the interest of a world peace, and I have no apology for making such an appeal. My deepest faith and my highest hope is in the sentimental idealism of our nation. Nevertheless, I believe just as profoundly that unless we can turn the tide of this splendid passion for an ideal into a practical dynamo of constructive organization, we shall be as helpless in the future as we were in 1914. We must have an efficient technique, builded out of the wisdom of the winnowed experiences of the past, through which we may translate our sentiment and our ideal into efficient coöperation. There must be somewhere, in some form, a rendezvous for the peace sentiment of the world, where it can counsel and consider the difficult and delicate problems which confront us for solution.

If we shall seek to enter into such councils with faint hearts, timidly reserving vital questions for

independent action and suspiciously withholding supremely important issues for our own decision, we will miserably fail. It is true that no man can answer beforehand what ancient traditions we may be called upon to surrender, or what national interests we may be asked to sacrifice. I am laying down no inflexible program; I would not mar the occasion by individual views of procedure. I plead for a principle, or better still a spirit, in which to approach this question. But just here is the adventure of faith. From the standpoint of the Church we are seeking no lesser an ideal than the Kingdom of God on earth. Is it worth the risk? Is it worthy of a great sacrifice? Have we faith that that Christ Ideal can win the confidence of the nation? Then let us face even extreme possibilities. If the peace and prosperity of the whole world demand it, let us dare our people to level our tariff walls, and if need be, even tear up the ancient doctrine of Monroe. Dare we pool our financial claims with the rest of the war debts of the nations?

I am not pleading for any one plan or detailed program. I am pleading for a great principle, which has at its heart the Christ Ideal, the realization of which demands a faith which no risk or sacrifice can quench. In answer to the

timid cautious voices of our would-be leaders, I hear the voice of our great Poet-prophet saying:

"Be thou no anchor, O my Faith, to lie on ocean's
oozy floor,
Dim fathoms deep. Away from wind, and wave,
and e'en remote from day's great eye;
Thy task to cling and clutch and keep my little
bark in front the selfsame sweep of ocean
shore,
O'erhead, the selfsame sky.

But rather, when the winds are free, be thou the
needle loyal to the north
Bidding my bark remotest isles explore.
Better go down amid the wind's wild roar
Than rot in land-locked bays
And go not forth,
At bidding of the wild beseeching waves!"

CHAPTER XVI

WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED

By Frederick Lynch

I have been asked to write a few words at the close of this book as a message of encouragement. It is not the place to detail a history of the peace movement but perhaps it is the place to call attention to the fact that the movement to substitute judicial processes for war in the settlement of international disputes and to organize the world on the basis of goodwill instead of force has gone steadily on until to-day it has become the great international experiment. All great movements begin in the minds of a few prophets. The ideal of the prophets finds lodgment in the minds of the thinkers in increasing numbers from age to age. Finally the statesman comes and gives the ideal of the prophets and the plans of the thinkers body and form in political institutions. This has been the history of the peace movement. In Bible and sermon, in song and story the prophets have foretold the coming of the golden age of peace and foretold it as the

only logical consummation of the rule of God in the world. The philosophers have then taken the vision and wrought out plans for its realization—world courts, societies of nations, international parliaments, federations of the world, compacts of arbitration, and protocols for the outlawry of war. Then the statesmen have taken the peace plans of the philosophers and begun the political organization of the world for peace. The peace movement has now arrived at this last stage and we of to-day are witnessing—and may have some part in—the greatest attempt at world organization any age has known. And it is a new thing in the world, calling for superhuman wisdom and infinite patience. But our encouragement lies in the fact that the visions of the prophets and the plans of the philosophers have been accepted as the foundation principle of any real civilization. The task is now the building of the new city on the foundations laid.

Much has already been accomplished in this building of the new world order. The first endeavors were along the lines of treaties providing for the arbitration of disputes between nations. Beginning in a tentative way one hundred and twenty-five years ago with a treaty between Great Britain and the United States, about three

hundred arbitration treaties have been signed between the nations, and over one hundred disputes have been successfully arbitrated. Most of the treaties of early days covered only certain classes of disputes, but these disputes might easily have led to war. But more and more the tendency has been to increase the scope of these treaties to include all questions that might arise, even those of so-called "honor" and "vital interests." It began to be seen that such an exclusionary clause meant nothing, for any question could be construed by a nation as affecting honor or vital interests, were that nation bent on war. It was a long time, however, before the nations could be brought to the point of signing treaties pledging to arbitrate all questions.

It is a lasting monument to Mr. Taft that he boldly advocated this sort of treaty and in 1912 called upon this country to sign such treaties with Great Britain and France. The treaties failed of adoption by only one vote in the United States Senate. It was an interesting fact that Mr. Roosevelt exerted all his powers to defeat these treaties on the ground that no one of the three nations would ever keep them, whereas just before he died in 1919, he expressed the opinion that the time had come for the United States

and Great Britain to sign an unlimited treaty. (Many statesmen have wondered whether the World War would ever have come had the United States and Great Britain and France signed these treaties, in view of the fact that it was President Taft's purpose immediately to conclude such treaties with Germany and other nations and then to persuade the European and South American nations to conclude such treaties with one another.)

Mr. Bryan's treaties were not absolute but they called for an attempt at conciliation before going to war over any question in dispute. Such treaties would generally effect the same ends as those pledging the submission of all disputes to a tribunal. But it is encouraging to note that the nations have reached that stage where partial treaties are no longer even thought of. The treaties of Locarno are absolute. The impulse to arbitration given by Locarno and the habit of thinking in terms of peace that has been generated by the League of Nations has revived the arbitration habit and Sweden, Holland, Switzerland, and other governments are offering to sign them, and have already begun to sign them with all other nations. Once the United States led in this direction. Now we are far behind and many

are asking why we are unwilling to have Locarno treaties, so to speak, with the other nations.

It was natural that as the success of arbitration as a method of settling international disputes became more and more pronounced the statesmen who believed in a peaceful world order should begin to think of permanent courts of justice to take the place of arbitrators summoned to pass on some case that might arise. It is difficult to say when the attempt really to set up a world court might have been made, had not something else brought the nations of the world together. It was not an altogether new idea. It had been urged by Elihu Burritt and many other philosophers and thinkers both of Europe and America and was the theme of every peace worker of the last century. But the event seemed far off. Then, in the summer of 1898 the Czar of Russia, Nicholas II, disturbed by the race for armaments going on all over the world, and evidently actuated by a real desire to turn the energies of governments into other directions than those of war and preparations for war, invited the nations of the world, which had diplomatic representatives at the court of Russia, to meet in conference to discuss the problem of limitation of armaments. The twenty-six nations invited

assembled at The Hague on May 18, 1899. It was soon discovered that no progress could be made toward disarmament until some form of security other than armaments could be offered the nations; but much was accomplished, the most important of all being the establishment of the International Court of Arbitration made up of four judges from each nation, one or more of whom could be summoned at any time by two nations having a dispute. At the Second Hague Conference in 1907 an advance was made when it was decided that either one of two nations on the verge of conflict might lay its case before the tribunal even if the other was unwilling to go. Also at this second conference a permanent world court was thoroughly discussed and plans were formulated looking toward its establishment by the third conference when it should convene. Meantime, several disputes full of danger for the world had been settled before the Court of Arbitration. When the Covenant for the League of Nations was drawn up almost the first thing put into it was provisions for establishing a permanent Court of International Justice. In 1921 it was set up at The Hague with all the nations in the League signatory to it. It is interesting to know that an American, the Hon. Elihu Root,

had much to do with writing its constitution and that an American, the Hon. John Bassett Moore, is one of the nine judges. In 1926 the United States Senate voted that our nation should become party to the Court, but qualified the vote with a number of reservations, which at this writing some of the other nations have not accepted. The weakness of the Court at present is that it is not compulsory for nations to take their disputes to it. This will come in time as trust grows, but the mere fact that a permanent court exists is one of the greatest steps toward the reign of law.

The irresponsible way in which some of the nations rushed into the great war, the impossibility of checking the madness of governments, the absence of any check on nationalistic impulses and the chaotic condition of the world immediately after the first move of Austria upon Serbia drove home to many minds even as early as the fall of 1914, the fact that there was no hope for lasting peace except in some form of permanent world organization. The war soon revealed that a conflict between even two nations upsets the stability and happiness of the whole world and that in the present world the nations are so bound by common ties that

they prosper or go down to ruin together. The world is one, and any war is a world war. This consciousness of the unity of the world and the signal absence of any machinery for quick peace when there was machinery everywhere for quick war gave a sudden impulse to plans for world organization. The nations must be organized on the basis of the community life as the people had been. It is the community life that brings peace; unrestrained individualism that brings war.

It was an interesting fact that groups of men with this persuasion began meeting almost simultaneously in the United States and England. The first meeting in America was held at the Century Club, New York City, and frequent meetings were held thereafter, with the result that the League to Enforce Peace was born with the purpose of doing all in its power to organize a League of Nations for the settlement of all disputes among themselves by peaceable methods and the guaranteeing of the peace of the world. It was not an altogether new idea. Henry IV hinted at it in his "Great Design" published in the sixteenth century; Hugo Grotius in 1635 foreshadowed it in his famous book "Rights of War and Peace"; in the closing years of the

eighteenth century Immanuel Kant preached a federation of the world and in his book "Eternal Peace" elaborated details which are not unlike some articles in the Covenant of the League of Nations. Perhaps the nearest prophecy of the exact form the League was to take was made in the Rectorial address of Andrew Carnegie at St. Andrews, Scotland, in 1905. It is worth remembering here because the germ of the League idea was in it:

"The subject of war can never be studied without recalling this simplest of all modes of its abolition. Five nations coöperated in quelling the recent Chinese disorders and rescuing their representatives in Pekin. It is perfectly clear that these five nations could banish war. Suppose even three of them formed a League of Peace—inviting all other nations to join—and agreed that since war in any part of the civilized world affects all nations, and often seriously, no nation shall go to war, but shall refer international disputes to The Hague Conference or other arbitral body for peaceful settlement, the League agreeing to declare nonintercourse with any nation refusing compliance. Imagine a nation cut off to-day from the world. The League also might reserve to itself the right, where nonintercourse is likely to fail or has failed to prevent war, to use the necessary force to maintain peace, each member of the League agreeing to provide the needed forces, or money in lieu thereof, in proportion to her population or wealth."

The meetings at the Century Club in New York where such men met as William H. Taft, Theodore Marburg, Samuel T. Dutton, John Bates Clark, George A. Plimpton, Hamilton Holt, A. Lawrence Lowell, William H. Short, Everett P. Wheeler, Theodore I. Woolsey, George W. Kirchwey, John H. Finley, Harry A. Garfield, James T. Shotwell, Oscar S. Straus, and George Grafton Wilson, issued in the creation of the League to Enforce Peace with William H. Taft as President and William H. Short as Secretary. The platform of the League to Enforce Peace is an exceedingly interesting document to-day because it is the first attempt to put into definite form a covenant to be offered to the nations as the basis of their organization into the community life. It consists of four short paragraphs, the gist of which is a judicial tribunal before which all disputes are to be carried; a council of conciliation; the obligation of the signatory powers jointly to use their economic and military forces against any one of their number that goes to war, or commits acts of hostility against another of the signatory nations; and finally to codify rules of international law for the government of the judicial tribunal mentioned in the first article. The present covenant of the League of Nations is gener-

ally considered to be but the expansion of this platform.

The first indication of President Wilson's sympathy with the idea of a league of nations seems to have found expression in a speech at Des Moines, February 1, 1916, when he said, with great feeling, "I pray God that if this contest have no other result, it will at least have the result of creating an international tribunal and producing some sort of joint guarantee of peace on the part of the great nations of the world." Four months later President Wilson attended the conference of the League to Enforce Peace at Washington and uttered the now historic words which committed him to the League of Nations idea. He expressed the confident belief that the United States would be ready at the proper time "to join a universal association of the nations to prevent any war begun either contrary to treaty covenants or without warning, and full submission of the causes to the opinion of the world—a virtual guarantee of territorial integrity and political independence." Thereafter Mr. Wilson never ceased to urge the idea of the League upon the world until he moved its creation at the first meeting of the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919.

Although the English group came to Paris

with a draft of the League similar to that taken by Mr. Wilson, and although Mr. Wilson's motion was seconded by Lloyd George at the Peace Conference, it has generally been acknowledged in Europe that it was a present from America. We need not go into its history here, for it is in operation before our eyes. It is accepted by all the great nations of the world except our own, and is fulfilling its functions far beyond the dreams of its creators. It is a new thing in the world and it is a wonder that it could have done anything at all for at least ten years, especially when one considers the temper of the nations and the despair of Europe in 1918. It has a splendid record of humanitarian work where all the nations are working together for the common good. It has adjusted several bitter disputes. It has prevented two or three wars which had in them the seed of world conflicts. It has produced a protocol, which, although it was not adopted by the nations of the League, seriously interested the nations for the first time in the project to make war a crime. It has set up a permanent world court. It has set up a commission to consider the difficult problem of limitation of armament, and, following up the excellent work of the Washington Conference, has

been holding meetings in Geneva preliminary to another conference on a large scale. It brought Germany and France together—perhaps the greatest miracle of history—and made Locarno possible. It has given impulse to arbitration treaties throughout the world. It has received Germany into the League after only six years in which to heal the terrible sores left in the hearts of nations by the war.

Finally, perhaps its greatest service has been the creation of a new will for peace in Europe and a new consciousness of unity. As Mr. Root put it in a recent address: "For these years the League in the political field have been rendering the best service in the cause of peace known to the history of civilization; incomparably the best. War results from a state of mind. These institutions have been teaching the people of Europe to think in terms of peace rather than in terms of war. They have been teaching them by actual practice, by things done; to think of conference instead of war, about policies; to think of argument and proof and judicial judgment, instead of war about rights; teaching them to acquire habits of thinking and of acting that way. The question of war or peace for the next generation is being settled now, to-day, by

the character and habits of thought and feeling, the standards of conduct which the people of the world are learning to guide them in the exigencies of the future."

We have devoted this chapter entirely to what has actually been accomplished in substituting courts and international organizations for war and irresponsible nationalism. There have been a hundred unofficial movements during the last fifty years that have been both indexes of the growth of a new sense of the brotherhood and unity of mankind and causes of the rapid spread of sentiments of peace, coöperation, and humanity.

The Interparliamentary Union, made up of members of parliaments of all the nations, has exerted a powerful influence in interesting governments in The Hague Conferences and the World Court. The last fifty years saw a steady increase in peace societies all over the world, and the annual international peace congresses of these societies did much to keep the peace sentiment alive through the last half century and to prepare the way for The Hague Conferences. Arbitration Conferences have been frequent, such as those at Lake Mohonk, and have kept the idea before the people. The women's clubs have de-

voted much time to the study of the whole problem of peace and war. In recent years the discussion of ways toward peace have assumed a prominent place in the students' conventions of both Europe and America. Great endowments for international peace have been created and organizations for the exchange of students set up in various countries. But the most significant advances and achievements have been in the field of religion. Fifty years ago the churches were hardly interested in the problem. Even up to twenty-five years ago they had not had much to say about war and Christianity being contradictory terms. The last twenty-five years has seen a marked advance. Instead of a few outstanding prophets denouncing war and prophesying peace, practically all the great Protestant denominations of England and America have passed resolutions protesting against the war system and indorsing all constructive peace measures. These resolutions are getting more and more radical and are beginning to brand war as criminal and call for its outlawry. In our own country three great agencies have come into being which have had remarkable success in leading the churches in this direction. The Commission on International Justice and Goodwill

of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ; the Church Peace Union; and the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches. The World Alliance, ever since 1919, has been bringing the churches of Europe together to discuss their problems and has been a very potent influence in creating the new will for peace in Europe and impressing upon the churches their responsibility for a warless world and for infusing the Christian spirit into the new political machinery that has been set up at Geneva.

Much has been accomplished. The world is at last taking the peace movement seriously. A new generation of statesmen, especially in Europe, has arisen. But the task is by no means accomplished. The militarists in Europe and America are making desperate efforts to retain the old order. The trust in force as the basis of international relationships still has a large following. Even in the churches there remain some who insist that nations are not bound by the morality by which individuals are bound, and that the ideal and course of action that is wrong for a man may be right for a nation. But they are passing and the future is with those younger men who are seeing that the kingdoms of the

world as well as the souls of men are the Lord's. When the churches really believe this, wars will end.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Geneva

The World's Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations.
Founded 1855.
World's Committee organized 1878, 3, rue Général-Dufour. Tel. St. 19.55.
President: Dr. Paul des Gouttes.
General Secretary: Dr. Karl Fries.
The World's Alliance comprises 9,746 associations having 1,588,547 members and 7,382 full-time secretaries.

League of Nations Union of Geneva.
Founded 1920.
President: Prof. W. E. Rappard, Champs du Bois, Valavran, Bellevue. Tel. Bellevue 19.

International Association of Blind Students.
Founded 1900.
Secretary: M. J. J. Monnier, 1, rue Etienne-Dumont. Tel. St. 48.05.

International Association of Journalists.
Founded 1921.
President: M. Ramon De Franch.
Secretary: M. Jean-François Laya, 4, boulevard du Théâtre. Tel. St. 0.814.

International Masonic Association.
Founded 1921.
Secretary: M. Reverchon, Grande-Chancellerie, 5, rue Bovy-Lysberg. Tel. St. 00.47.

World Union of the Middle Class.
Dr. Charles Cornioley, 18, passage du Terraillet. Tel. St. 19.67.

International Bureau of Education.
Founded 1925.
Director: Prof. Pierre Bovet.
General Secretary: Miss Butts.

Instit. J.-J. Rousseau, 4, rue Charles-Bonnet. Tel. St. 70.57.

International Bureau of New Schools.
Founded 1899.
Director: Dr. Adolphe Ferrière, 10, chemin Peschier, Champel.

The New Education Fellowship.
Founded 1921.

International Peace Bureau.
Founded 1891.
Secretary: M. H. Golay, 8, rue Charles-Bonnet. Tel. St. 02.88.

The Universal Esperanto Association.
President: M. Edmond Privat, 12, boulevard du Théâtre. Tel. St. 03.36.

International Labor Office.
Founded 1919.
Director: M. Albert Thomas, 154, route de Lausanne. Tel. M.-Bl. 62.00.

International Bureau for the Protection of Native Populations.
Founded 1913.
Secretary General: M. Ed. Junod, 30, rue Verdaine. Tel. St. 62.82.

The International Club.
President: M. E. J. Phelan.
Secretary: Mlle. Ginsberg, 4, rue Monthoux. Tel. M.-Bl. 61.35.

Foreign Committee of the National Councils of the Young Men's Christian Association of the U. S. A. and Canada, European Area.
Founded 1919.
Administrative Secretary: Dr. D. A. Davis, 2, boulevard du Théâtre. Tel. St. 19.55.
At present working in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Esthonia, France, Greece, Italy, Latvia, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Turkey.

Commission internationale de l'Enseignement mathématique.
Founded 1908.

General Secretary: M. H. Fehr, 110, Florissant. Tel. St. 54.32.

International Committee of the Red Cross.
Founded 1863.
President: M. Gustav Ador, 1, promenade du Pin. Tel. St. 13.63.

International Committee for Georgia.
Founded 1924.
President: M. Jean Martin, Offices of the Journal de Genève, 3, rue Général-Dufour. Tel. St. 39.65.

International Conference of Private Organizations for the Protection of Migrants.
President: M. Etienne Clouzot.
Secretary: Miss Ruth Larned, 10, rue de la Bourse. Tel. St. 82.44.

Conférence internationale de Psychotechnique appliquée à l'Orientation professionnelle.
Founded 1920.
Secretary: Prof. Edouard Claparède, Institut. J.-J. Rousseau, 4, Charles-Bonnet. Tel. St. 70.57.

International Council of Women.
Founded 1888.
President: Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair, London.
Recording Secretary: Mme. Hélène Romniciano, 17, boulevard Helvétique. Tel. St. 46.72.

International Council of Nurses.
Founded 1899.
Secretary: Miss C. Reimann, 1, place du Lac. Tel. St. 62.60.

International Alliance against the IIIrd International.
Founded 1924.
President: M. Théodore Aubert, 13, Corraterie. Tel. St. 07.20.

The International Abolitionist Federation.
Founded 1875.
President of Administrative Commission: M. de Meuron, 9, rue du Vieux-Collège. Tel. St. 10.68.

The European Christian Endeavor Union.
Founded 1881.

Honorary Secretary: M. Ernest Sauvin, Salle Centrale, 10, place de la Madeleine. Tel. St. 28.98.
The Christian Endeavor Societies are ecclesiastic, attached to a local church.

International Federation of the Temperance Societies of the Blue Cross.
Founded 1886.
Honorary Secretary: Pastor Charles Martin, 67, route de Malagnou. Tel. M.-Bl. 23.98.
Headquarters, 5, place de la Taconnerie.

The World's Student Christian Federation.
Founded 1895.
General Secretary: M. H. L. Henriod, 16, boulevard des Philosophes. Tel. St. 34.20.

International Universities' League of Nations Federation.
President: M. R. Lange, Headquarters, 195, rue Saint-Jacques, Paris.
Secretary: Dr. Sohlmann, Geneva Office, 5, Rond-Point de Plainpalais.

International Institute of Psychology and Psychotherapy.
Founded 1924.
Director: M. C. Baudouin, 3, Taconnerie. Tel. St. 70.57.

International Women's Suffrage Alliance.
Founded 1904.
President: Margery Corbett Ashby, London.
Corresponding Secretary: Miss Émilie Gourd, Pregny, Geneva. Tel. M.-Bl. 26.64.
Headquarters, II Adams St., Adelphi, London, W. C. 2.

International Student Service.
Founded 1920.
Executive Secretary: M. Conrad Hoffmann, Jr.. 5, Rond-Point de Plainpalais. Tel. St. 55.97.

League of Jewish Women.
President: Mme. Coralie Lebach.
General Secretary: Mme. Rosa Aberson.
Address of Secretariat: 12, rue des Pitons. Tel. St. 52.17.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.
Founded 1915.

International Secretary: Miss Madeleine Z. Doty, 12, rue du Vieux-Collège. Tel. St. 56.52.

Ligue internationale de la Jeunesse.
Section génévoise.
President: M. R. Graf, Fédération suisse.
Secretary: M. W. Kordon, 2, rue de l'Ecole de Médecine.

The International Philarmenian League.
Founded 1920.
President: Pastor Krafft, 9, avenue Gaspard-Vallette. Tel. St. 50.48.

International Migration Service.
Founded 1921.
International Director: Miss Ruth Larned.
Assistant Director: Mlle. De Bacourt, 10, rue de la Bourse. Tel. St. 82.44.

International Friends' Service.
Founded 1919.
Secretary: Bertram Pickard, 5, place de la Taconnerie. Tel. St. 66.49.

League of Nations.
Founded 1920.
Secretary General: Sir Eric Drummond, quai Wilson. Tel. M.-Bl. 65.00.

Universal League for the Observance of Sunday.
Founded 1876.
Secretary: M. W. Merminod, 19, rue de Candolle. Office hours daily 9–11. Tel. St. 70.24.

Affiliated with the Union chrétienne de Jeunes Filles.
President: Mme. Bertrand, 12, ch. Bertrand. Tel. St. 55.34.

International Radio Union.
Founded 1925.
Director: M. Arthur Burrows, 6, rue du Rhône. Tel. St. 05.53.

Students' International Union.
Founded 1924.
Executive Secretary: Miss Mary A. Duggan, 10, rue Saint-Léger. Tel. St. 19.51.

Save the Children Fund, International Union.
Founded 1920.
President: His Grace the Duke of Atholl.
General Secretaries: M. Etienne Clouzot and Mlle. Suzanne Ferrière.
Treasurer: M. W.-A. MacKenzie.
General Delegate: M. L.-B. Golden, 31, quai du Mont-Blanc. Tel. M.-Bl. 29.03.

Interparliamentary Union.
Founded 1889.
Secretary General: Dr. Chr. L. Lange, 5, place Claparède. Tel. St. 47.97.

World Union of Women for International Concord.
Founded 1915.
President: Mme. C. G. d'Arois.
General Honorary Secretary: Mme. Romniciano, 17, boulevard Helvétique. Tel. St. 46.72.

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